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THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

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OF

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VOLUME XXVII. (1907)

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15*s.*, entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 22, ALBEMARLE STREET.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M. (Saturdays, 11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.

(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

(6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances:—

(1) Unbound books.

(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.

(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

(4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the *Librarian* (Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre), at 22, Albemarle Street, W.

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Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).

Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).

Byzantinische Zeitschrift Prof. Dr. K. Krumbacher, *Amalienstrasse* 77, *München, Germany*).

Ephemeris Archaiologike, *Athens.*

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Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. Archaol. Instituts, Corneliusstrasse No. 2, II, *Berlin.*

Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archaologischen Institutes, Turkenstrasse 4, *Vienna.*

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, *Hanover Square.*

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Mittheilungen des kais. deutsch. Archaol. Instituts, *Athens.*

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Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland.*

Neue Jahrbucher (c/o Dr. J. Ilberg), *Waldstrasse* 56, *Leipzig.*

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PROCEEDINGS.

SESSION 1906–7.

THE First General Meeting of the Society was held on November 13th, 1906, when the Rev. G. C. Richards read a paper on 'The Ionian Islands in the Odyssey,' the object of which was to bring before the notice of English students the theory of Prof. Dorpfeld that by Ithaca Homer in the Odyssey meant the island later known as Leucadia or (after its chief town) Leucas, and in modern times as Santa Maura. This theory is now conveniently published in pamphlet form along with a reply to Prof. von Wilamowitz (Athens, Beck & Barth). Since the excavation of the sixth city at Hissarlik, the substantial accuracy of the descriptions of scenery in the Iliad has been demonstrated, but the Odyssey has presented such geographical difficulties as apparently to exclude personal knowledge on the poet's part. The greatest difficulty is, however, removed by M. Bérard's identification of the Pylos of Nestor with Samikon, near the mouth of the Alpheius, which, if correct, supplies an instance of the transference of a place-name to another site. Dörpfeld's theory starts from the comparison of *Od.* ix. 21 with xxi. 347, which shows that the three islands Dulichium, Same and Zacynthus are off Elis, and Ithaca is not. The only four islands worthy of being reckoned in the Septinsular Republic (Corfu, Paxo, and Cerigo, not being in question) are Cefalonia, Thiaki, Zante, and Santa Maura. The first three are off Elis; Santa Maura remains for the Homeric Ithaca. The ancients thought of Leucas as an island, but as one that had been in earlier days connected with the mainland: they therefore identified it with the peninsula in *Od.* xxiv. 378, and were debarred from identifying it with Dulichium or the Odyssean Ithaca. Recent researches have shown conclusively that Leucas was an island in 1000 B.C., and separated from the mainland then, as now, by a channel liable to become choked unless artificially kept open for navigation. This explains the transport of cattle from the mainland (*Od.* xiv. 100), where the Cephalenians then lived (*Od.* xx. 187); and also the four times repeated line 'I do not think you came by land,' which it is impossible to interpret as a joke of Telemachus at the moment of recognition. If Leucas = Ithaca, Cefalonia suits Dulichium well (Dulichium, if a real place in the catalogue of *Iliad* ii, cannot be imaginary in the Odyssey), Thiaki is Same; while Zante has always kept the same name. Thiaki will not suit the Homeric data. (1) It is an island divided almost into halves,

with two mountains of approximately the same height, not an island with one conspicuous mountain (*Od.* ix. 21). (2) It is not 'furthest of all to the west.' (3) It is so close to Cefalonia that it seems to be part of it from the eastern side (contrast with this ix. 25, xxi. 346). (4) Yet it χθαμαλή means low-lying, it is quite inappropriate to it; whereas Strabo's interpretation 'near to the mainland' suits Leucas, and if the other rendering is correct, Leucas has more level land on the coast. (5) The only possible site for the Megaron of Odysseus has yielded no trace of prehistoric settlement to the excavations of Dorpfeld and Vollgraff. (6) There is no possibility of identifying Asteris (*Od.* iv. 844) with the rock of Daskalio. (7) The local identifications in the Thiaki are all modern and suspicious; the island was deserted, and only repeopled early in the sixteenth century. Leucas provides (1) a suitable site for Odysseus's home, where Dörpfeld has found prehistoric remains; (2) similarly suitable sites for the other Odyssean descriptions; (3) a suitable Asteris with a double harbour in Arkondi, between Santa Maura and Thiaki. Changes of population (which Dörpfeld connects with the Dorian invasion) pushed the Cephallenians into the islands (*Od.* xxiv and Il. ii). The inhabitants of the northern island passed over into Same and founded a new Ithaca there; while the inhabitants of Thiaki founded a city in Cephellenia, which existed in historic times under the name Same or Samos. This explains the statement of Pliny (*H.N.* iv. 15) that Neritis was an early name of Leucas. It is impossible to maintain any longer that by Ithaca the Odyssey means Thiaki. Against the view that the poet had no correct local knowledge, and merely gave his fancy play (Von Wilamowitz), must be set the ease with which Leucas satisfies the data of the Odyssey.

On November 27th a special general meeting was held for the purpose of further discussing the paper read on November 13th. No one was found to maintain the claims of Thiaki adequately to represent the Ithaca of the Odyssey, as still maintained by Bérard, and in Germany by those who, like Menge, Michael, Lang, have opposed Dorpfeld's view.—Prof. Ernest Gardner said he took up the position of a sceptic rather than of a convinced opponent of Prof. Dörpfeld's theory or a defender of the identification of Thiaki as Ithaca. Prof. Dörpfeld's arguments seemed to him to fall into two classes: those which dealt with the geographical position of the islands, as described or implied by Homer, and those which suggested a minute topographical identification of sites, such as the stalactite cave of the Nymphs or the double harbours on Asteris. The latter were rather a source of weakness than of strength to the theory; but it must be admitted that the broader geographical evidence for Leucas made, in Prof. Dörpfeld's masterly exposition, a very strong case, if we were to recognize the Homeric topography in existing islands. We must, however, remember that this theory would imply that the Odyssey was composed by a poet and for an audience familiar with the Ionian Islands, and before 1000 B.C., from which time to the present day the names of the islands had been as they now are. Such a solution of the Homeric question required a revision

of the whole evidence, philological, historical and literary, as well as topographical, before it could be accepted ; and in any case the Odyssey was interpreted by all the Greeks of the historical period as it is by modern scholars. To them the Homeric topography did not correspond to any actual topography ; and there did not, after all, seem sufficient reason for rejecting the view now generally held that the poet's imagination rather than his familiarity with the spot was responsible for his descriptions. Such a view was more in accordance with the usual custom of poets and writers of fiction. It was generally admitted that in the Odyssey we had an inner zone, confined mainly to the Aegean, within which the geography was familiar to the poet and his readers ; and an outer zone of vague traditions and travellers' tales, where the knowledge of both was at best taken at second hand. If we regarded the Ionian Islands as belonging to the vague rather than the more definite region, there was no difficulty in keeping to the accepted traditions about the names of the islands.—Prof. R. C. Bosanquet said that minor identifications were of less importance, and general correspondences alone should be looked for. On the whole, Leucas reproduced Odyssean geography better than Thiaki. Dorpfeld's finds in Leucas suggested to him an earlier date than the period generally described as Mycenaean. The transference of names was extremely likely, and had parallels in mediæval and modern Greek history. But he was not disposed to accept Dorpfeld's view that this took place at a very early date.—After the reader of the paper had made a brief reply the President, in summing up, regarded the claims of Thiaki as conclusively disproved, but maintained that Homer could not be regarded as a safe source for history.

The Third General meeting was held on February 19th. Professor P. Gardner, President, was in the Chair and spoke as follows :—

Since our last meeting, one of the most distinguished of our Vice-Presidents has been somewhat suddenly carried away by death, Professor Henry Pelham, President of Trinity College, Oxford. He was from the first a Member of the Council of this Society, and a Vice-President from 1895. In the foundation of what may be called offshoots of this Society, the British Schools of Athens and Rome, he took an important part : the latter was indeed a special child of his and he was Chairman of the Committee of the School. Ever since our Society was founded Professor Pelham has been its earnest supporter at Oxford, and has done all in his power to further its aims.

His work and his interests lay rather in the direction of Roman than of Greek antiquity. But while an acknowledged master in his own studies, he by no means limited his interest to them, but in a broad and earnest spirit applied his great powers of organization and his strong personal influence in support of the whole movement for broadening and deepening classical study, for promoting research, travel and excavation, for spreading

an interest in the inscriptions and the monuments of the ancient world, in which this Society is so deeply interested. Though he never himself contributed to our Journal, he did so copiously through his pupils.

I have often felt that if Professor Pelham had chosen a political career, he would have attained a very high position. He had all the qualities of a statesman. But he preferred the more modest career of a University teacher and organizer. And his justification has been that his presence and work at Oxford has raised the whole tone of the place. More I think than any other man has he succeeded in imparting a high purpose to Oxford study and a high tone to University business. All this was the result of a noble personality. An English gentleman of the highest type, straightforward, manly, open minded, ready to appreciate any kind of excellence, generous almost to a fault, he was everywhere a central figure, the doyen of ancient history at Oxford, the leader whom we were all glad to follow. His departure leaves a great void which those who remain must try between them to do something towards filling.

Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, LL.D., Litt.D., then read a paper by Professor J. Strzygowski (printed in this volume, pp. 99–122). The paper was discussed by Miss Gertrude Bell, Sir H. Howorth and Mr. Arthur Smith.

The Fourth General Meeting was held on April 30th, Mr. G. F. Hill in the chair. Prof. Ridgeway read a paper on 'The True Scene of the Second Act of the "Eumenides" of Æschylus,' of which the following is a summary. His object was to inquire whether the true scene of the second act was really the Erechtheum on the Acropolis, or whether we ought not rather to look for another site. It would be said, What more appropriate spot than on the Acropolis and at the most famous shrine of Athena in the 'strong house of Erechtheus'? But the action required a shrine which contained an ancient *bretas*, at which manslayers took sanctuary, and moreover a *bretas* called by the name of Pallas, not of Athena; for the Pythian priestess speaks of Pallas; Apollo bids Orestes take refuge with Pallas, and it is Pallas who will see that he has a fair trial; and the Eumenides on their departure address the goddess as Pallas, though Orestes twice, and the Chorus twice, speak of Athena. Now there is no evidence that there was any such *bretas* in the Erechtheum or on the Acropolis, or that such *bretas* ever conferred sanctuary; whilst there is the strongest evidence that the goddess of the Erechtheum was only known as Athena, or the Polias, or Athena Polias, never as Pallas. It is still more strange that not one of the four famous courts for the trial of homicide was situated at the Erechtheum or on the Acropolis, though in the Prytaneum, on the northern slope, were tried weapons which had shed the blood of men or oxen. It seems incredible that Æschylus should not have placed the trial at one of the four places where from of old manslayers were tried, for the Attic audience would have been very censorious if he had placed the trial at a spot where there was neither sanctuary nor law court. There

were five courts for the trial of bloodshed: (1) the Areopagus, on the hill west of the Acropolis, where were tried those accused of wilful murder, poisoning and arson; (2) the τὸ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ south-east of the Acropolis, outside the walls, where were tried those guilty of involuntary homicide (τοῖς ἀκουσίως ἀποκτειναῦσι); (3) the Delphinium, a shrine of the Delphian Apollo, where those who pleaded justification (for instance, for having slain an adulterer) were tried; (4) the court at Phreattys, on a tongue of land at Zea, where a man who was said to have shed blood during his period of exile was tried, docked in a boat off the shore, the judges seated on the land; (5) the Prytaneum, already mentioned. It is obvious that the last two cannot have been the scene of the trial in the play. The Areopagus will not do, for there is not a jot of evidence for the existence of any ancient image there called either Pallas or Athena, Pausanias mentioning only an Athena Promachos; nor is there the slightest evidence that there was ever an asylum there. Again, the Delphinium will not do, for it certainly did not contain a *bretas* of Athena, but rather an image of Apollo; moreover, its name shows that it was not an immemorial cult-spot, since it was in honour of the Delphian god, who first urged in Athens the plea that deliberate homicide could be justified. Only the court of the Palladium remains. Here there was a most ancient *xoanon* or *bretas*. This *bretas* was an asylum, for each year the image was taken down to Phalerum to the sea, doubtless to be washed in order to rid it of the pollution of the manslayers who in the course of the year had embraced it, as Orestes is supposed to have done (cf. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1169). The only name ever applied to this image was Pallas or Palladium. Some said that it was the Palladium from Troy; others that Athena, after slaying her playmate Pallas, in atonement set up an image of her. Finally, the court for trying involuntary homicide in classical times was held there. (1) The plea urged for Orestes is that he slew his mother on compulsion by Apollo, and Apollo bears this out. (2) Apollo urges justification. It may be said that justification trials were held at the Delphinium, not at the Palladium in classical times; but it has just been shown that the Delphinium is a later court, as its name implies and it derived its title from the story that Apollo in the trial of Orestes had urged that certain kinds of homicide could be justified. There is no evidence that the Delphinium was ever an asylum. Hence we are led to conclude that in early days, when the first step was taken towards mitigating the dread doctrine δράσαντι παθεῖν, those who could plead that they had shed blood either by mistake or justifiably took refuge at the Palladium. The trial of Orestes is represented by Æschylus as the first for murder: the court which tries him is called a θεσμός, a term always applied to immemorial institutions. The judges here, at the Delphinium, Phreattys, and Prytaneum and in early times on the Areopagus, were the Ephetæ, the Court of the Fifty-one, *i.e.* 50 Ephetæ and the King Archon. This court probably was a survival of the ancient king and the Gerousia, the only tribunal in a primitive community. All the conditions required for the scene of

Act II are now fulfilled: (1) an ancient image, (2) called Pallas, (3) used as an asylum, (4) with a court attached for the trial of involuntary bloodshed, and probably in early times for justifiable bloodshed also. But not one of these conditions is fulfilled by the Erechtheum. It may be urged that, though Orestes certainly took sanctuary at the Palladium, nevertheless he was tried on the Areopagus; but this involves the insuperable difficulty that the man who had taken asylum would be carried from that spot right away to another place, all the while being exposed to the attacks of the avenger of blood. The essence of such ancient asylums was that the case must be decided where the man was in sanctuary. If Orestes took refuge at the Palladium, he must have been tried at that court. Moreover he would be out of place in the Areopagus, which tried cases of wilful murder only.—The paper was briefly discussed by the Chairman and Prof. W. C. F. Anderson, the latter expressing considerable doubt as to the proposed removal of the final scene of the play from the Areopagus.

The Annual General Meeting was held at Burlington House on June 25th, the President, Professor Percy Gardner, taking the Chair. The Hon. Secretary, Mr. George Macmillan, read the following report on behalf of the Council:—

During the past session there has been no striking event to record, but the Society has carried on its regular work in an efficient way and shown abundant vitality in the several departments of its activity.

The modification in the rules recommended by the Council, that the office of President be in future tenable for five years only, was approved by members at the last Annual Meeting, and on the same occasion Professor Percy Gardner was, under the terms of this rule, unanimously elected President in place of the late Sir Richard Jebb.

The new departure in the Constitution of the Society, the creation of a class to be admitted to certain privileges of the Society without payment of entrance fee and to be known as "Student-Associates," was also approved at the last Annual Meeting, but it is a little disappointing to find that during the first year only three candidates have availed themselves of the arrangement.

Professor Henry Jackson has been appointed a Member of the Editorial Consultative Committee in the place of the late Sir Richard Jebb

The Secretary, Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, has obtained leave of absence for a year, which will be spent mainly in renewing or extending his acquaintance with Greek lands, in seeing the latest results of excavation and in independent research. Mr. Penoyre had earned some relief after his strenuous labours for the Society and will no doubt come back still better equipped for the varied duties of his post. The Council were

fortunate in securing the services of a member of the Society, Miss Katherine Raleigh, to carry on the Secretary and Librarian's work in his absence.

The continued interest which the Society takes in the progress of the British Schools of Archaeology in Athens and Rome is emphasized by the fact that a short abstract of the work of the two schools was inserted, by special permission of the Council, in the volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1906. During the session of 1905–6 the efforts of the British School at Athens had been rewarded by the discovery, on the site of ancient Sparta, of the shrine of Artemis Orthia, the stern goddess in whose honour Spartan youths underwent the ordeal of scourging. Thousands of votive offerings were found there buried, among them a series of terra-cotta masks which may have been used in some dramatic ritual. Early in the present year another important discovery was made. The sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos on the Acropolis of Sparta was identified by inscribed tiles found on the spot, and it is hoped that excavations there may proceed next season. Among the finds on the site is a fifth-century statuette in splendid preservation, representing a trumpeter. Further discoveries of ivory figurines have since been made on the site of the temple of Artemis Orthia. It is plain that the Society's grant of £100 for the excavations in Laconia, the renewal of which was voted in January of the present year, has been abundantly justified. The annual grant of £25 to the British School at Rome has been renewed for a further period of three years.

The Roman School has undertaken, with the sanction of the Italian Government, to make a new official catalogue of the sculpture in the Capitoline Museum. The work is well in hand and will shortly be finished. Mr. A. M. Daniel was appointed Assistant Director of the School at the opening of the session with the special duty of furthering this enterprise.

The Library.

During the past year 277 visits to the Library are recorded, as against 375 for the year 1904–5, and 372 for the year 1905–6. Besides those books consulted in the Library 396 volumes were borrowed, the figures for the preceding years being 312 and 415. 189 additions to the Library have been made, including pamphlets, and exclusive of periodicals in progress. The Council made the usual grant of £75 for Library expenses.

Some interesting accessions are:—Hermann's *Denkmaler der Malerei des Alterthums* (in progress); Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*; Wiegand, *Porosarchitectur der Akropolis*; the 5 *Erganzungshefte of the Jahrbuch des k. k. d. arch. Instituts.* The Library Catalogue published in 1903 has now been brought up to the present date by adding the four supplements

under one cover. The price of the complete volume to members is 2*s.* 6*d.* net, and that of the supplements 6*d.* net.

The Council desire to express their thanks to H. M. Government, the Authorities of the University Presses at Oxford and Cambridge, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Archaeological Institute of America, the University of California, the Committee of the Archaeological Society of Athens, the University of Athens, the University of Aberdeen, the University of Colorado and the Institut National Genevois for donations of books.

The following authors have presented copies of their works:—Dr. Ashby, Mr. S. Chabert, Mr. J. W. Duff, Mr. S. Eitrem, Dr. J. W. Evans, Dr. Farnell, Professor Fairclough, Mr. C. Gilliard, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss Hoste, Dr. Kenyon, Dr. Keser, Mr. G. Macdonald, Miss McDowall, Mr. A. Malinin, Mr F. H. Marshall, Mr. Phené Spiers, Mr. F. W. Simpson Mr. J. W. White, Dr. A. Wilhelm.

Miscellaneous gifts of books have been received from Sir J. Evans, Miss E. Fegan, Professor Ernest Gardner, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. J. H. Hopkinson, Mr. Rawlings, the Rev. W. G. Rutherford, Mr. Arthur Smith, and the Librarian.

The following publishers have presented recent works:—Messrs. E. Arnold, Clark, Dent, Heinemann, Longmans and Green, Macmillan, Methuen, Nutt, Reimer and Seeman.

The Collection of Negatives, Slides and Photographs.

During the past year the sale and hire of slides has proceeded briskly, and many new negatives have been added to the collection. The statistics will be published, as arranged, at the end of a three years' period counting from 1906.

Members may find it convenient to know that there are in the Library four complete copies of the Slide Catalogue (each with supplements), and that these can be borrowed on the same conditions as the other books.

The thanks of the Society are due to members of the Argonaut Camera Club, members of the Hellenic Society and others, who have presented lantern slides, negatives and photographs.

Finance.

It is satisfactory to be able to report that the Society's income for the year has exceeded its expenditure by £111. This surplus is less by £61 than that of last year, and a comparison with last year's accounts shows this difference to be accounted for as follows: On the receipts side it will

be seen that the total income for the year is £87 less, the principal differences appearing under the headings of Entrance Fees and Members' Subscriptions in Arrear. The falling off in the receipts under the first heading is explained by the fact that fewer new members have been elected than in the year preceding; and in the second case by the fact that a number of resignations received have been those of members whose subscriptions were in arrear and could not be recovered. On the expenses side noticeable increase has to be reported only under the headings of the Library—due to the completion of the catalogue—and the additional £100 granted towards the excavations in Laconia. On the other hand, a saving has been effected on Sundry Printing, Postages and Miscellaneous Expenses; while it has not been thought necessary to write off any further sum for depreciation of Stocks, so that the Treasurer is left with a balance over on the year as stated above.

The account for the Journal shows that while the sales have dropped to the normal average (the sales of back volumes in the year ending May 1906 were unusually high) the cost has also been less, the balance on this account being almost identical with that of last year. The sale of five copies of the Aristophanes Facsimile has well repaid the cost of a new circular to Librarians, while the continued sale of the Supplementary Volume on the Excavations at Phylakopi is also satisfactory. The Lantern Slides and Photographs account shows this department to have again paid its way, there being a small profit on the year.

Turning to the Balance Sheet, the surplus of Assets over Liabilities shown is £283. The Debts Payable by the Society stand at the same amount as last year, viz.:—£293, while the cash in hand amounts to £613, as against £376 last year, an increase of £237. The Donations received for the Endowment Fund during the year have amounted to £16 16*s*. The sum due for Arrears of Subscriptions at May 31st stands at £127.

The Council feel that the financial statement may be regarded as satisfactory. It is hoped, however, that the Endowment Fund established two years ago will not be lost sight of. The amount (£500) invested of the sum already received has produced £17 in interest this year, and the steady growth of this fund through Donations from members should prove a very valuable source of future revenue.

Conclusion.

Hamdy Bey, the Director of the Museum at Constantinople, having completed twenty-five years in that important office, the Council thought it right, as he is one of our Honorary Members, to send him a congratulatory address in the name of the Society, and the compliment was gratefully acknowledged.

In recording losses by death, special mention should be made of two

Honorary Members, Professor Otto Benndorf of Vienna and Professor F. Blass of Halle. Both were well known in this country. Professor Benndorf was always ready to encourage British scholars and explorers with counsel and assistance, while Professor Blass had given much generous and invaluable help to Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in the decipherment and identification of the Greek literary *papyri*. In Professor Pelham, the President of Trinity, the Society has lost one of its Vice-Presidents and a man who had taken a keen interest in its work from the foundation. A special tribute to his memory was paid by the President of the Society at the first general meeting held after Professor Pelham's death.

During the year 29 new members and 3 Student Associates have been elected. 38 have been lost by death or resignation. The number of members at present on the list is 918, and there are in addition 184 subscribing libraries (an increase of 14 in the year) and 38 honorary members.

It will be seen that the Society has during the past session well maintained its position in its various fields of work. The only discouraging symptom is that the number of new members elected falls short of those lost by death or resignation, so that there is a slight diminution in the total. It is not at present serious, but it is very important, in view of the obligations undertaken, that the Society's revenue should be rather increased than diminished, and the Council trust that all members will do their best to bring in new candidates. It is on the other hand satisfactory to note that there has been an increase of 14 in the number of subscribing libraries.

The Chairman then delivered the following address :—

A SOCIETY like ours is an organism with a continuous life. We have lived long enough to form traditions, and we have been more successful than most societies in giving birth to other societies and movements for the advancement of science. So long as I have the honour to be President I shall do what I can to cherish this common and continuous life. It is my special duty to contribute towards it by an annual address, whereby we mark the milestones of our course, see what we have done and what more awaits us in the immediate future.

Every society which has a continuous life is anxious to keep up a connexion with the past by a commemoration of those who are lost to it by death. One of the most cherished institutions of Athens was the νεκύσια, the feast of all souls, when offerings were brought to the family grave. We too have year by year to note who of our members have passed away, and what they have bequeathed to us. Fortunately the list this year is a short one Of prominent members we have lost but two, Professor Pelham and Mr. Shuckburgh. Our greatest loss is certainly that of our Vice-President, Mr. Pelham. It is true that his interest was centred rather

in the history of Rome than in that of Greece, and indeed in Roman constitutional history. But with that breadth and generosity which were the basis of his character, he extended his sympathy to research in all parts of ancient life. He was most helpful in the founding of this Society, and from the first every attempt of ours to widen and deepen Hellenic studies found in him a friend and ally. I have, however, at a previous meeting spoken more fully of our loss in Professor Pelham. I am glad to say that a project is now being carried out to establish a memorial of him in the form of a studentship at the British School of Rome in connexion with the University of Oxford.

Mr. Shuckburgh, one of our earliest members, was also rather concerned with Roman than with Greek history. But his work in editing the orator Lysias, and in publishing a translation of Polybius, bore on Hellenic studies. He was an active member of the teaching staff at Cambridge, and his personal character helped to make his work effective.

Of our foreign honorary members two have died, Professor Blass and Professor Benndorf. Dr. Blass is known as an extremely able and many-sided philologist. His works on Attic orators and the New Testament writers are of great importance. He often visited England and Ireland, and was almost one of us. In recent years he rendered invaluable service to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in their publication of the papyri which they have found in Egypt. With Dr. Benndorf I had much to do. For many years he stood at the head of the study of Classical Archaeology in Austria, first as Professor in the University of Vienna, later as the head of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, which was virtually his foundation, and of which he was the guiding spirit. That Institute has done a mass of important work. Its *Jahreshefte* is among the most important of archaeological periodicals. The researches of its members in Lycia, and the now progressing excavations at Ephesus have produced results of great value. Dr. Benndorf was a prolific writer, and all his work stands at a high level. It is the more satisfactory to remember that when we elected him as honorary member, he wrote me a letter expressing in the warmest terms his pleasure, and saying that he regarded our *Journal* as second to none in the value of its contributions to Hellenic antiquities.

While speaking of the works of our deceased members I should call attention to a volume which has recently appeared of addresses and papers by Sir Richard Jebb, appropriately edited by Mr. Butcher and Dr. Verrall. It may be long before there arises another scholar so accomplished and so broad in his sympathies as Professor Jebb. I hope that our Society will always cherish the traditions which he represented. In particular the Romanes lecture delivered by him at Oxford is perfect, not merely in taste and expression, but also in comprehension, in its realisation of what ancient Greece can contribute to modern ways of thought and feeling and action, how what is best in it may live again in our ideals, and tend to counteract the many perverting and vulgarising influences of modern life. There are

many scholars, but few who really deserve the name of Humanist, a name which since the days of Erasmus has scarcely been better earned by any one than by our late President.

Individuals come and go; each builds his little part of the fabric of knowledge, and hands on the task to successors. Let us turn from our own losses to the more cheerful subject of the progress made in the year in Hellenic studies, a progress the rate of which varies from year to year, but which never ceases

Of the activities of the Society during the year, you have heard from the Report of the Council. I am glad to find that the particular part of that work with which in the past I have been associated proceeds with energy and success. The *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, of which twenty-six volumes have now appeared, has kept up its reputation for thoroughness and originality. The issue of last year contains excellent papers in most fields of Hellenic study.

I think that since I ceased to be Editor of the *Journal*, it has covered a somewhat wider field, there have been more papers primarily historical. I am quite prepared to rejoice at this. Greek life in all the variety of its manifestations was one. Each branch of Hellenic study throws light on other branches. The history of institutions, of literature, of philosophy and of art is but one history after all; and no man can properly understand one side of Greek history who has not some knowledge of all.

Any complete account of the gains of the year is beyond the scope of this slight sketch, and it is the less necessary that I should weary you with a long catalogue of our successes, since there is now published every year, by the Classical Association under the editorial care of Mr. Rouse, a brief but complete summary of them, a most useful little volume called *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*. I cannot speak too highly of the admirable labours of the group of scholars who thus bring together the facts which so greatly interest members of this Society. Their publication leaves me at liberty to select for comment any discoveries and any books which seem to me of greater and more general interest.

I will begin with the prehistoric age, a field in which English scholars have for a long time past taken a prominent place. Mr. Arthur Evans continues his work at Cnossus in Crete, work which has reconstructed a splendid and hitherto unknown phase of early Anatolian culture. Unfortunately bounds are set to Mr. Evans' inexhaustible energy and enterprise by the smallness of funds available. But this year he tells me that his researches have brought to light a complete new wing of the great palace at Cnossus, which imperatively demands excavation; and my knowledge of Mr. Evans leads me to think that in one way or another he will succeed in carrying out his purpose. Mr. Evans has also turned his attention towards more fully working out the material already available. He has mapped out nine successive periods of Minoan history, early, middle, and later; and it is being by degrees discovered that the prehistoric remains of the Cyclades, and even of Italy, may be classified on lines parallel to those which can

be fixed in Crete. There is now set up at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford a very extensive arrangement of originals and facsimiles classified according to period, giving the student such a conspectus of the products of Minoan civilisation as can be seen nowhere else, unless indeed at Candia.

I would recommend a book recently published by a member of our Council, Prof. R. Burrows' account of the recent researches and discoveries in Crete. It seems to me an excellent piece of work.

But I feel that, interesting as are these peeps into a pre-Greek civilisation in Greek lands, this Society must always regard with still deeper interest the literary and artistic works which belong to the historic Hellenes, and which embody that spirit which has been one of the two or three great formers of European civilisation.

Sparta, Syracuse, Miletus! What associations cling to each of these great names! To the early history of each, recent excavation has brought contributions. A series of vase-fragments, found by the German excavators at Miletus, which reaches back to the Mycenaean age, proves how very early was the foundation of that Ionian colony which was not only in power and wealth but also in age the mother-city of Greek Asia. The ground plans of many of the most important temples and buildings of Miletus have been traced; and the site is gradually giving up its secrets. Remains of the ancient Sikel people found at Syracuse, have given us the touching point between the ancient native civilisation of Sicily and the new culture brought in from Corinth by the Greek settlers. At Sparta the excavations of the British School have brought to light first the site of the shrine of Artemis Orthia, and then that of the bronze-lined temple of Athena Chalcioecus, strewn with innumerable votive offerings in lead and terracotta. But I must not dwell on Sparta, our Sparta, nor anticipate the accounts of discovery which will later in the year be laid before you at the annual meeting of the British School of Athens

In Rome a most valuable date has been recovered from our knowledge of Greek vases. In one of the primitive graves laid bare by Signor Boni in the Forum, there was found a small vase of the proto-Corinthian class. This little vessel, purchased for a few pence by some early Roman, and given by him to some deceased friend, has a value which cannot be exaggerated for determining the stratification of the site.

The slowness with which the results of the excavations at Delphi are published is a matter for much regret. A certain number of plates and photographs have appeared, but for the explanation of them we still have to trust to old volumes of the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*. German archaeologists are losing patience, and in recent numbers of the Athenian *Mittheilungen* Drs. Pomtow and Bulle have published searching papers on the geography and the monuments of the sacred enclosure, in which some of M. Homolle's views are called in question. These papers will, I imagine, not hinder, but facilitate the French publication. But we cannot help feeling that the results of the great excavations at Delphi will not be set forth in an orderly way until they are no longer fresh.

Perhaps one reason for the delay may be that M. Homolle has been recalled to France to occupy an important position, while the staff of the French School of Athens is busy with the renewed excavations at Delos. These promise, in their way, to be almost as important as those at Delphi: we are recovering the whole plan of a Greek city of commerce, with its wharves and store-houses, its spacious private houses, as well as its sacred buildings. The inscriptions found at Delphi and Delos are of immense extent and the greatest importance.

I may mention a few of the books of the year which throw light on Hellenic studies—among these are Mr. Walters' *Art of the Greeks*, Mr. Freeman's *Schools of Hellas*, Mr. Tucker's charming *Life in Ancient Athens*, and Mr. Mahaffy's enlarged re-issue of his most genial and delightful account of the *Progress of Hellenism*. These are books which do not appeal only to the learned, but which bring the fruits of Greek thought and idealism to bear upon the studies and the life of modern times; and surely there never was an age which needed the leaven of Hellenic culture more than ours.

Also, since no line can be drawn between the art of Greece and that of Rome, I may add Mrs. Strong's valuable manual of *Roman Sculpture*, which may be considered the first attempt to set forth in order the chief monuments of the great nation which so long dominated the world.

Greek literature will naturally and necessarily in the minds of English students hold a more important place than Greek art. The principles embodied in both are the same, but we are as a people more literary than artistic. I will not on this occasion discuss at any length the discoveries in the literary field. The discoveries which come nearest to us are those made by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt of papyri in the graves of Egypt. There is, however, not much to say this year in regard to these. The explorers have had a last season at Oxyrhynchus and made considerable additions to the literary papyri found last year, which contained, as you are aware, new Paeans of Pindar and fragments of a fourth century historian. This is the end of the Oxyrhynchus excavation; and we must most heartily congratulate the self-sacrificing scholars who have, with infinite pains and patience, added so greatly to our knowledge of the earliest literary manuscripts of Greece and of the history of Ptolemaic Egypt.

The researches of the past year have not brought to light any work of art so important as the Charioteer of Delphi, or the Aeginetan marbles of Furtwangler. Perhaps the most remarkable statues found are two archaic figures from Samos, one seated and one standing, both male and fully draped. They are of the same heavy Ionian style as the seated figures from Branchidae in the British Museum. The seated figure is a portrait, unfortunately headless, of Aeaces, father of Polycrates the Tyrant. A dated monument of this kind is beyond value: and it enables us to push back the beginnings of Ionian sculpture to a somewhat earlier date than that formerly assigned to them. At the other end of the history

of Greek art, the researches of Danish archaeologists in Rhodes have allowed us finally, it may be hoped, to fix the date of the Laocoon in the middle of the first century B.C. We have thus secured two points marking the beginning and the end of the splendid development of Greek sculpture.

Of recent books on sculpture perhaps the most useful to students, though not the most learned, is Dr. von Mach's series of 500 photographic plates, good enough for ordinary purposes, and published at the price of a guinea. A learned work which will specially interest us is the Catalogue of the Museum of Sparta by two members of our school, Messrs. Tod and Wace. We may hope that next year this will be followed by a catalogue undertaken by the British School of Rome, comprising the celebrated sculpture of the Capitol Museum. Catalogues are not only valuable to researchers, but their compilation is the best and most educative work that can possibly be assigned to students.

The study of Greek vases has in the past been greatly hampered by the fact that it has only been possible satisfactorily to pursue it in the vase-rooms of one of the great museums of Europe. Old engravings of vases, such as those published by Gerhard and Lenormant, were not sufficiently accurate to be trustworthy. Twenty years ago Prof. Benndorf of Vienna greatly facilitated the study by his issue of *Vorlegeblatter* for use in archaeological instruction. The great series of plates now being published by Furtwängler and Reichhold carries accuracy even further, enabling us really to examine even questions of style without journeying to the Museums of Europe. A like service to ancient mural paintings is being performed by Dr. Hermann in his great series of reproductions of Pompeian and other frescos. It is a pity that the cost of these works places them out of the reach of ordinary persons; but at all events they may be consulted in libraries such as that of our Society. Meanwhile Mr. Walters' new book on the *History of Ancient Pottery* has provided for the first time an adequate handbook, to guide those who are taking up the study of Greek vases.

Perhaps no side of Hellenic life has occupied more of the attention of English scholars in recent years than Hellenic religion. By a sort of tacit compact our two old Universities seem to have divided between them this fascinating field. At Cambridge Professor Ridgeway, Dr. Frazer and Miss Harrison have worked on the prehistoric and primitive elements which survive in Hellenic religion. Dr. Frazer, in his recent *Adonis Attis and Osiris*, has also discussed the foreign elements which made their way into the popular religion at the time of Greek decay. At Oxford, on the other hand, the higher developments of Greek worship have attracted scholars. Dr. Caird has written an admirable work on the theology of Greek Philosophers; Dr. Lewis Campbell has given an account of the religion embodied in works of Greek literature; Dr. Farnell has published a most elaborate and learned work on the *Cults of the Greek States*, whereof two volumes have appeared this year. I wonder whether there is any member of this Society who has talent enough to bring together all these various

sides of Hellenic religion, and give us a complete account of its main features. It would be a fascinating task, and even if imperfectly accomplished would be a great help to the purposes of our Society.

Before concluding, I should like to turn for a few minutes from the past to the future, to see what tasks now lie before us, in what directions we may hope to extend the field of Hellenic studies. In this work we have now the co-operation not only of the Schools of Athens and Rome, but also of the Classical Association, whose energy and enterprise is infusing fresh life into humane studies, especially in the northern Universities.

At the recent International meeting of Academies, the project for a great Thesaurus of the Greek language was considered, and advanced some steps toward actual accomplishment. At the meeting Professor Bywater represented the British Academy; but the enterprise has been especially connected with the name of our late President. He was warmly in favour of it; and if it is finally carried out, it may be regarded as in a sense a memorial of him. I am glad to say also that the very original and thoroughgoing studies of Mr. Norman Gardiner on Greek Athletic Sports are likely to take the form of a book, which will I am sure be epoch-making in the subject with which it deals.

I take this opportunity of informing or reminding the Society that the third International Congress of the History of Religions will be held at Oxford in September, 1908. Many continental scholars will come to England to take part in it; and one may hope that the study of Hellenic religion will be among those which will profit by the contact of mind with mind.

It is a far cry from this learned Congress to the Olympic Games. These also are to be held next year in England. Their interest is no doubt mainly practical. But it is worth while to pause and mark the influence of Greece shown in the very fact that these international contests are called Olympic. There still lingers about them something belonging to ancient Greece. And it may be well to try to profit by the occasion by bringing before English-speaking athletes what is really best in the athletic spirit of ancient Greece, the dignity, the love of beauty, the manliness which marked the earlier celebrations of the Olympic games, and to point out how in later Greece the games were ruined by professionalism and over specialisation.

Another good prospect is offered by the probable intention of the Carnegie Institution at Washington to regard exploration and research in the lands to the East of the Mediterranean as not outside its scope; and there is a prospect that some part of its munificent endowment may be expended in researches in which we shall have an interest, if not a share, in Asia Minor and Syria.

Our own duty is most closely connected with the excavation of Sparta. Since the Greek Government has liberally made over to the British School the site second to Athens in Greece in historic, if not in archaeologic, interest, it behoves us to strain every nerve to find the men and the money necessary

for the full carrying out of so important a task. If however the plan which originated with Prof. Waldstein meets the success for which we must all hope, it may be that even the excavation of Sparta will take second place in comparison with that of Herculaneum. But very little of that incomparable site has as yet been touched. The extraordinary difficulty and expense involved in cutting through so many feet of hard deposit has delayed the work. But we must remember that a single Roman villa at Herculaneum. that called after the Pisos, has bestowed on us not only a large number of papyrus rolls containing important documents, but also a series of statues and busts in marble and bronze of incomparable extent and beauty. These are almost the only works of Greek art which have come down to us, thanks to the preservative power of the soil, in almost perfect condition, and every visitor to the museum at Naples must have felt his breath taken away by the number and the beauty of these works of Greek plastic art. It is within the mark to say that, if we leave out of account the Hermes of Praxiteles and the Delphic charioteer, the remaining fruits of the great excavations of Olympia and Delphi are from the point of view of the modern lover of art surpassed by the contents of the Herculanean Villa. May we but find one such more ; and even the dullest of scholars and the driest of historians will feel what great help in the realisation of the past is given us by the researches of the present.

After the President's address the Report of the Council was presented to the meeting and adopted unanimously.

The officers and members of Council as nominated were then declared unanimously elected or re-elected. Mr. Arthur Smith was elected as Vice-President. Professor R. Burrows, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. C. C. Edgar, Mr. H. Stuart-Jones and Dr. Rouse were elected to vacancies on the Council.

The proceedings were closed by a vote of thanks to the Auditors, moved by Dr. Sandys and seconded by Professor Waldstein, who spoke hopefully of the outlook for the proposed excavation of Herculaneum.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables:—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING —

	31 May, 1898	31 May, 1899	31 May, 1900	31 May, 1901.	31 May, 1902	31 May, 1903	31 May 1904	31 May 1905	31 May, 1906	31 May, 1907
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions. Current	613	598	634	636	628	646	672	709	789	753
Arrears	13	18	9	10	13	13	205	76	90	72
Life Compositions	...	32	63	78	78	94	126	94	94	47
Libraries	118	122	163	179	185	202	147	154	168	173
Entrance Fees .	.	. .	33	45	52	50	100	133	103	65
Dividends .	43	43	43	42	42	42	42	49	44	61
Rent	..		.	. .				...		10
Endowment Fund			...	...		.	.	30	475	17
"Excavations at Phylakopi," sales	.		.	.				52*	28*	21*
"Facsimile Codex Venetus," sales		.		. .		.	..	93*	8*	17*
Lantern Slides Account . . .	. .	..	..	...	..	...		. .	15*	3*
	787	813	945	990	998	1,047	1,292	1,390	1,814	1239

* Receipts (less expenses).

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING —

	31 May, 1898	31 May, 1899	31 May, 1900.	31 May, 1901	31 May, 1902	31 May, 1903	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905	31 May, 1906	31 May, 1907.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent .	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	88	98	100
Insurance	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	18	13	14
Salaries	50	60	60	60	60	69	89	165	176	178
Library	93	61	73	74	82	89	50	100	65	85
Cost of Catalogue	.		...	...	...	...	55	. .	...	.
Sundry Printing, Postage, and Stationery, etc.	45	32	58	61	41	72	137	147	158	101
Printing and Postage, History of Society	.	. .	..	...	. .	.	.	24	..	...
Printing and Postage, Proceedings at Anniversary .		.	.	..	..			10	...	. .
Lantern Slides Account . .	24		13	29	17	35	} 2		..	. .
Photographs Account .		26	1	15	. .	...		5*	...	.
Cost of Journal (less sales)	516	536	390	382	367	454	511	511	356	356
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol XXIII.	.		..	..	.			122	.	...
Grants	125	150	200	200	200	250	225	260	125	225
"Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes".	.					210	30	.	..	.
"Excavations at Phylakopi" .				...		156	140		.	.
Commission and Postage per Bank	.				3	2				.
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications	.							123	104	10
	948	960	890	916	865	1,432	1,335	1,573	1,095	1069

Expenses (less sales)

"JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1906, TO MAY 31, 1907.

Dr

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XXVI., Part II., and XXVII., Part I.	260	19	6			
,, Plates	59	18	1			
,, Drawing and Engraving	76	6	9			
,, Editing and Sundry Contributors	62	5	6			
,, Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	44	0	0			
				503	9	10
				£503	9	10

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1906, to May 31, 1907.						
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.	112	5	2			
,, Hellenic Society	14	19	0			
				127	4	2
,, Receipts for Advertisements				20	6	0
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account				355	19	8
				£503	9	10

"EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1906, TO MAY 31, 1907.

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1907			Account for Current Year		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock)	216	6	0	—		
Cost of Printing Prospectus	1	15	1	1	15	1
Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account				21	1	11
	£218	1	1	£22	17	0

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1907.			Account for Current Year		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
By Sale of 23 Copies during year	22	17	0	22	17	0
Deficit Balance from Publication at May 31, 1907 (excluding value of Stock)	195	4	1	—		
	£218	1	1	£22	17	0

"FACSIMILE OF THE CODEX VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES" ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1906, TO MAY 31, 1907.

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1907	Account for Current Year
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock)	121 14 5	
,, Cost of Prospectus and Postage	3 0 7	3 0 7
,, Half Share of Amount, less Expenses, for Copies sold by Hellenic Society, due to the American Archæological Institute	16 17 3	16 17 3
Balance on current year to Income and Expenditure Account		16 17 3
	£141 12 3	£36 15 1

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1907	Account for Current Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Sale of Five Copies by the Hellenic Society	36 15 1	36 15 1
,, Hellenic Society's Deficit Balance from Publication to May 31, 1907 (excluding Value of Stock)	104 17 2	
(No Sales by American Archæological Institute.)		
	£141 12 3	£36 15 1

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1906, TO MAY 31, 1907.

	£ s. d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	40 0 8½
,, Slides for Hire	11 17 2
,, Photographs for Reference Collection	7 2 2
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	3 1 1½
	£62 1 2

	£ s. d.
By Receipts from Sales	51 13 3
,, ,, ,, Hire	10 4 2
,, ,, ,, Sale of Catalogues	0 3 9
	£62 1 2

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1906, TO MAY 31, 1907.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Purchases	57 12 7	
,, Binding	28 1 4	
		85 13 11
,, Supplement to Catalogue		10 10 8
		£96 4 7

	£ s. d.
By Balance forward from last year	10 18 1
,, Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.	1 4 4
,, Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	84 12 2
	£96 4 7

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From June 1, 1906, to May 31, 1907.

Expenditure.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Rent				100	5	0
,, Salaries—						
Librarian and Secretary	140	0	0			
Assistant Treasurer	25	0	0			
Office Boy	13	2	0			
				178	2	6
,, Insurance				14	4	5
,, Miscellaneous Expenses				19	13	5
,, Stationery				22	9	5½
,, Postage				39	11	5½
,, Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.				19	15	3
,, Grants—						
British School at Athens	100	0	0			
,, ,, ,, for Laconia	100	0	0			
,, ,, Rome	25	0	0			
				225	0	0
,, Balance from Library Account				84	12	2
,, Balance from "Journal of Hellenic Studies" Account				355	19	8
,, Depreciation of Stocks				9	8	0
Balance				111	11	1½
				£1180	12	5½

Income.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Members' Subscriptions—						
Proportion brought forward from last year	429	8	0			
Received during current year—Arrears	72	7	0			
,, ,, ,, ,, 1906	11	11	6			
,, ,, ,, ,, 1907	741	0	11			
	1254	14	2			
Less $\frac{7}{12}$ of 1907 subscriptions forward to next year	432	8	11			
				822	5	3
,, Members' Entrance Fees				65	2	0
,, Student Associates' Subscriptions				3	3	0
,, Libraries Subscriptions—						
Proportion brought forward from last year	90	1	0			
Received during current year—1906	14	2	1			
,, ,, ,, ,, 1907	165	18	2			
	270	1	3			
Less $\frac{7}{12}$ of 1907 subscriptions forward to next year	96	15	7			
				173	5	8
,, Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account	(Nil)					
,, Interest on Deposit Account				4	5	10
,, Dividends on Investments				61	10	5
,, Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room				10	0	0
,, Balance from "Excavations at Phylakopi" Account				21	1	11
,, ,, "Facsimile Codex Venetus" Account				16	17	3
,, ,, Lantern Slides and Photographs &c.				3	1	1½
				£1180	12	5½

BALANCE SHEET. MAY 31, 1907.

Liabilities.

	£ s d	£ s d
To Debts Payable ..		293 0 4
,, Subscriptions carried forward .		529 4 6
,, Endowment Fund .. (includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar)		522 6 0
,, Life Compositions and Donations—		
Total at June 1, 1906 . .	£1773 9 0	
Received during year, 3 at £15 15s.	47 5 0	
		1820 14 0
Excess of Assets over Liabilities at June 1, 1906... ..	172 6 4½	
Add Surplus Balance from Income and Expenditure Ac.	111 11 1½	
		283 17 6
		£3449 8 4

Assets.

	£ s d	£ s d
By Cash in Hand Bank . .	167 5 8	
,, on Deposit... . . .	400 0 0	
Assistant Treasurer . .	35 0 4½	
Petty Cash	11 3 7	
		613 9 7½
,, Debts Receivable . .		120 14 9½
,, Investments (Life Compositions)	1263 3 11	
,, ,, (Endowment Fund)	500 0 0	
		1763 3 11
,, Valuations of Stocks of Publications		602 0 0
,, ,, Library		350 0 0
		£3449 8 4

Examined and found correct. (*Signed*) ARTHUR J. BUTLER, F. POLLOCK, } *Auditors.*

FIFTH LIST OF

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE.

1906—1907.

Note.—The first four Supplementary Lists, which were issued in volumes xxiii-xxvi of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* have been reprinted, combined in a single alphabet, price 6*d.* (by post 7*d.*). The Catalogue published in 1903 and the Combined Supplement i-iv, bound together in a stiff cover, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 2*s.* 6*d.* (by post 2*s.* 10*d.*); price to non-members 3*s.* 6*d.* (by post 3*s.* 10*d.*)

Ainsworth (W.F.) Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks. 8vo. 1844.

——— Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia. 2 vols. 8vo. 1842.

Altmann (W.) Die Roemischen Grabaltaere der Kaiserzeit. 8vo. Berlin. 1905.

American Journal of Philology. 8vo. Baltimore. From IX. 3. (1888). *In progress.*

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Arundell (F. V. J.) A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia. 8vo. 1842.

Atkinson (T. D.) A glossary of terms used in English architecture 8vo. 1906.

Baker (J.) Turkey in Europe. 8vo. 1877.

Balkankommission, Schriften der, (Antiquarische Abteilung).
I. Die Lika in Romischer Zeit. By K. Patsch. 4to. Vienna. 1900.

II. Romische Villa bei Pola. By H. Schwalb.
4to. Vienna. 1902.
III. Das Sandschak Berat in Albanien. By K. Patsch.
4to. Vienna. 1904.
IV. Antike Denkmaler in Bulgarien. By E Kalinka.
4to. Vienna. 1906.

Bernoulli (J. J.) Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen. 8vo. Munich. 1905.

Blackie (J. S.) Horae Hellenicae 8vo. 1874.

Blass (F.) Pronunciation of Ancient Greek. Trans. Purton.
8vo. Cambridge. 1890.

Bréal (M.) Pour mieux connaître Homère. 8vo. Paris. 1906.

British Museum.

Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities.

Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities.
By O. M. Dalton. 4to. 1901.
Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age. 8vo. 1902.
Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age. 8vo. 1904.
Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age.
By R. A. Smith. 8vo. 1905.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus *κ* should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ, αι, οι, ου* by *y, ae, oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ον* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-ρος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-ρος*, as *Λέαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-on* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

f

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for κ, *ch* for χ, but *y* and *u* being substituted for υ and ου, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for ου in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined, titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903) p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line: *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{2} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.* = Head, Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Muller-Wies. = Muller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

I.G.	I. =	Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.	
,,	II. =	,,	,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.
,,	III. =	,,	,, aetatis Romanae.
,,	IV. =	,,	Argolidis.
,,	VII. =	,,	Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,,	IX. =	,,	Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,,	XII. =	,,	insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,,	XIV. =	,,	Italiae et Siciliae.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Romische Abtheilung.
Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift fur Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ʰ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*:—

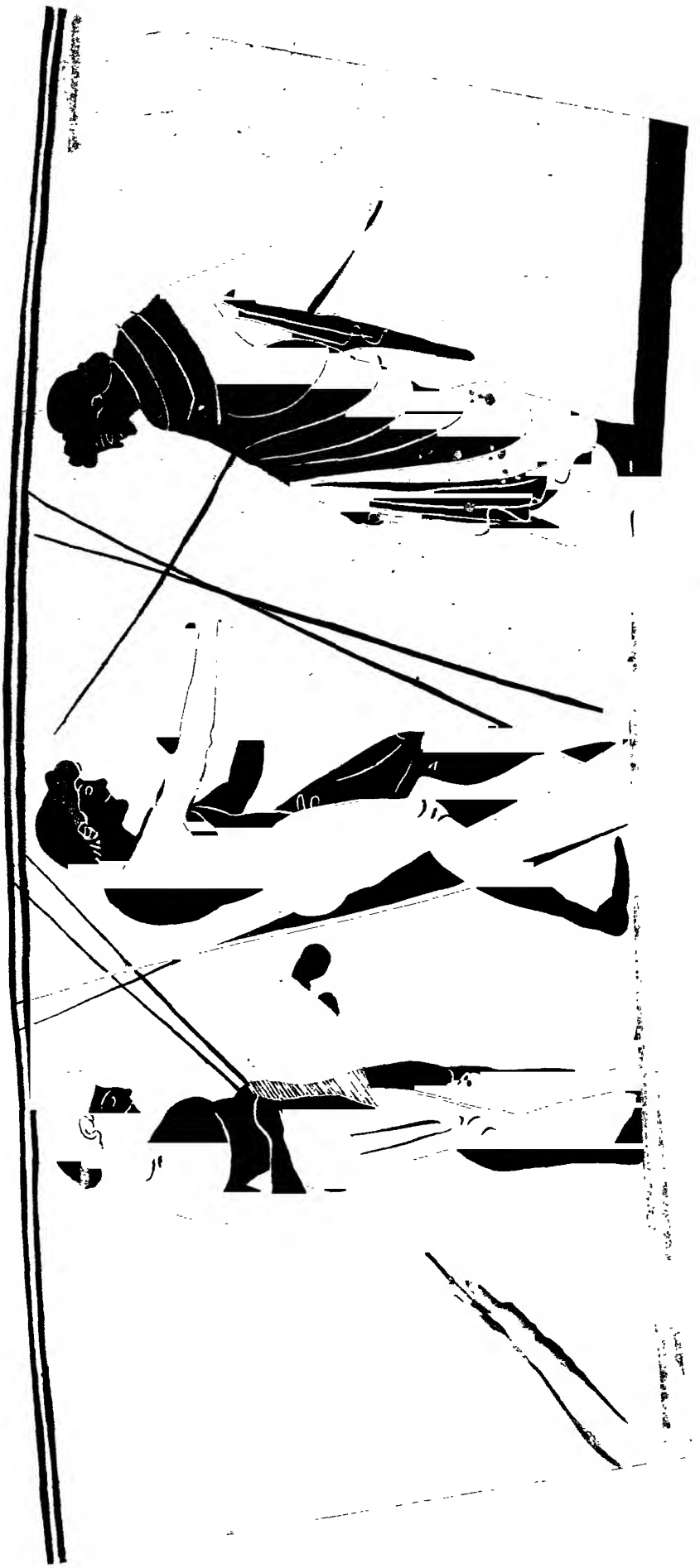
( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*

B.F. AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B. 271).



ATTIC B.F. LEKYTHOS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B. 576).

R.F. PELIKE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E. 395).

R.F. FRAGMENT AT WURZBURG.

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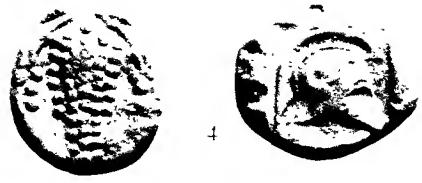
4

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COINS OF PEPARETHUS, &c.

FIGURE B FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

FIGURE C FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

FIGURE D FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

FIGURE E FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

FIGURE F FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

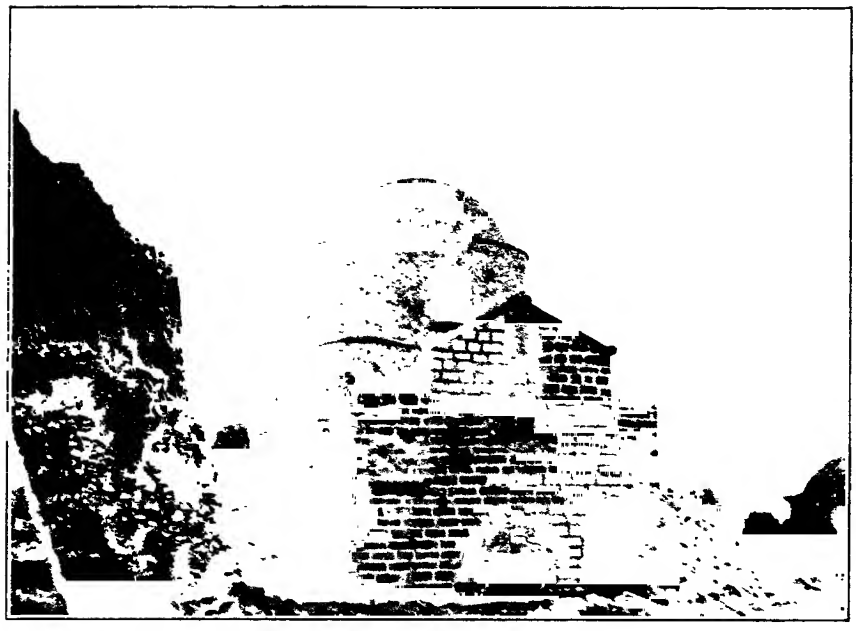
FIGURE G FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

FIGURE H FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

FIGURE J FROM THE COOK SARCOPHAGUS.

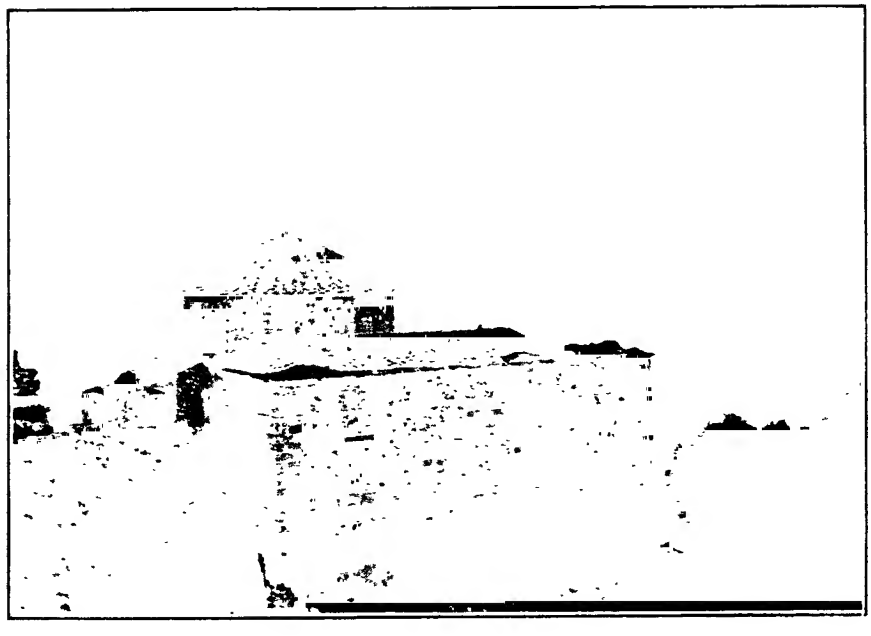
EARLY SELEUCID PORTRAITS.

EARLY SELEUCID PORTRAITS.



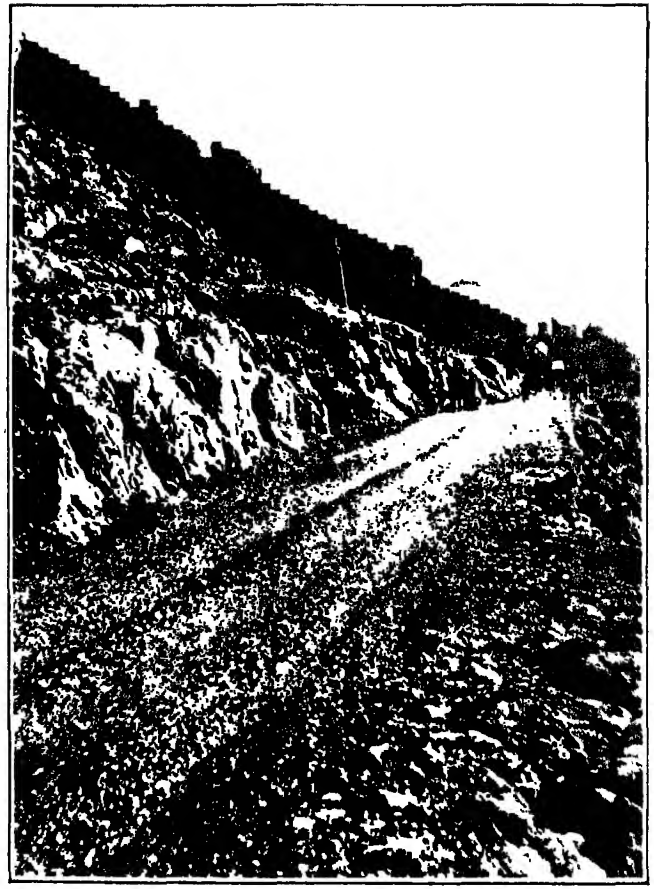
MONEMVASIA. A.—Παναγία Μυρτιδιώτισσα.

(Photograph by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.)



MONEMVASIA. B.—Ἁγία Σοφία.

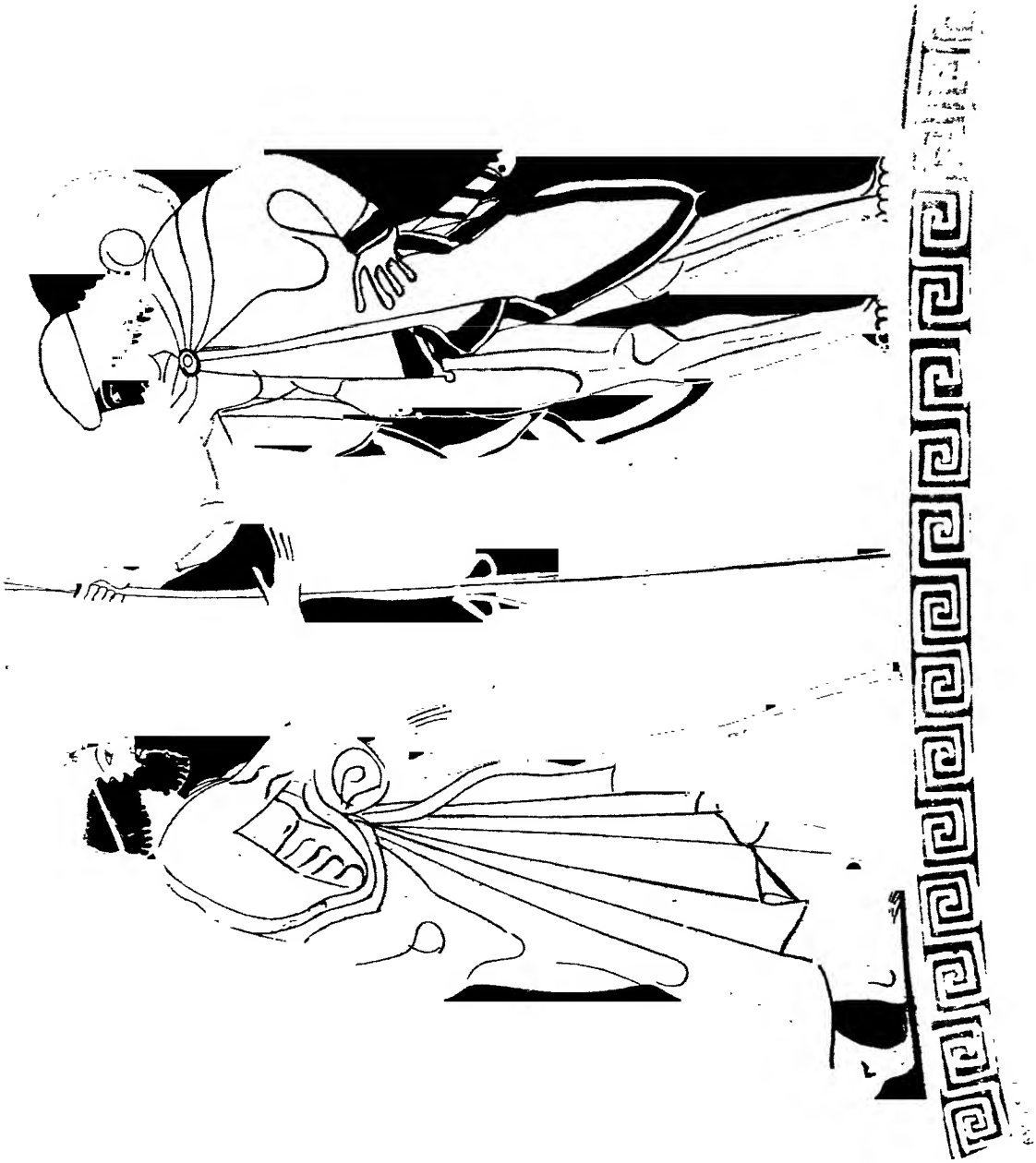
(Photograph by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.)



A.—TOWN WALLS AND GATE.
(Photograph by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.)

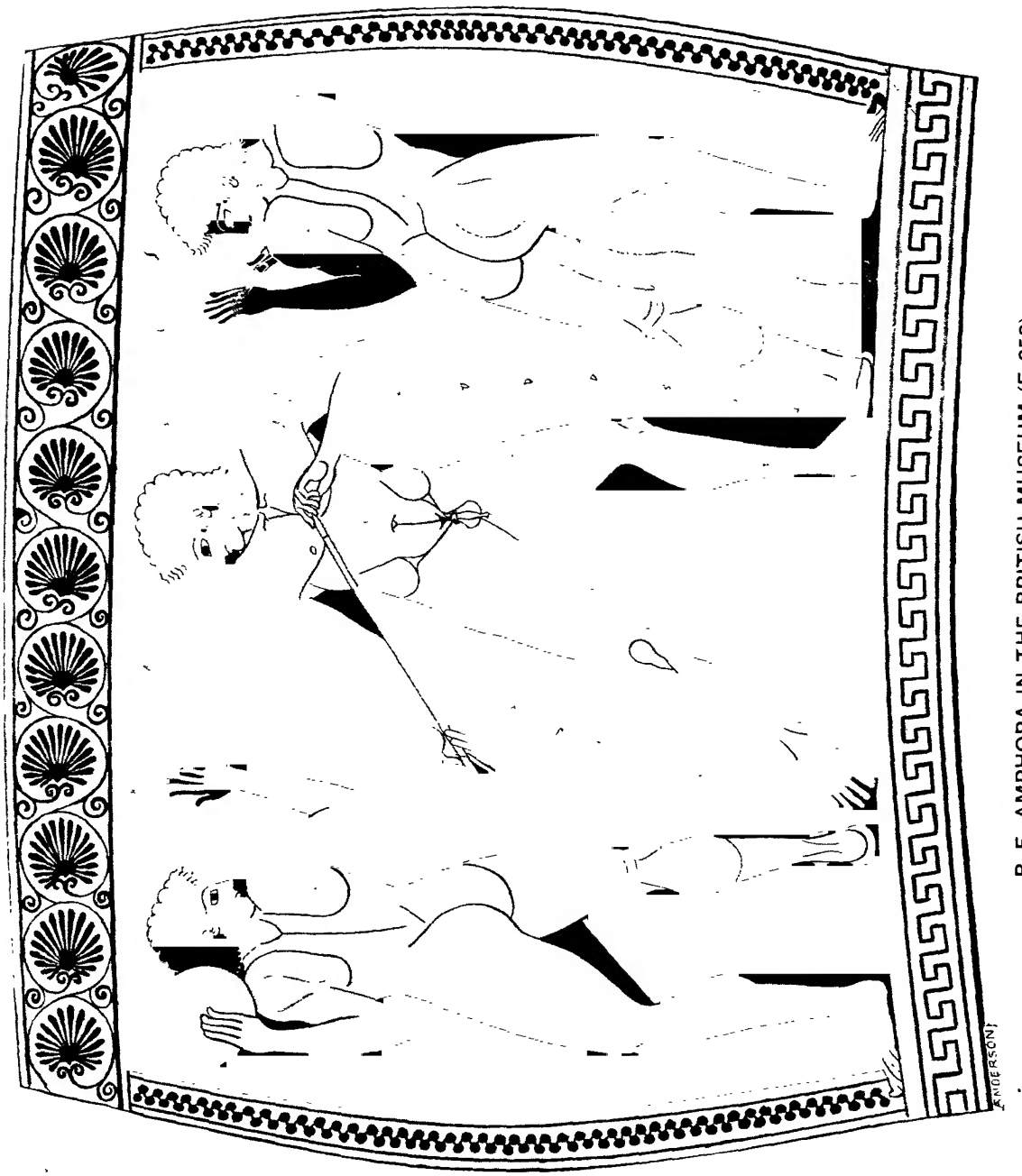
B.—MODERN TOWN AT BASE OF CLIFF.
(Photograph by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.)

MONEMVASIA.



NOLAN AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E 326).

PANATHENAIC AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (B 134).



R.-F. AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (E 256).

PANATHENAIC AMPHORA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THROWING THE DISKOS.

[PLATES I.–III.]

A.—*The Solos.*

'THEN the son of Peleus took an unwrought metal mass which anciently the mighty Eetion was wont to hurl.'[1] This σόλος αὐτοχόωνος, which was at once the weight to be thrown and the prize in the Homeric competition, was apparently a mass of pig iron just as it came from the furnace; probably, as Mr. J. L. Myres suggests to me, 'the contents of one of the old open-hearth furnaces of the Mediterranean world, the natural unit quantity for the purveyor and buyer of the metal, the classical analogy to which is the mass of iron (μύδρος σιδήρεος) which the Phocaeans threw into the sea before their voyage westwards.'[2]

The word σόλος occurs only in this passage of the *Iliad* and in later imitations of Homer.[3] The latter part of *Iliad* xxiii. is generally admitted to be a somewhat late interpolation, and the interpolator, wishing to insert in the games of Patroclus a competition similar to that of throwing the diskos, gives to his interpolation an archaic appearance by the use of the unusual word σόλος. The diskos itself was sufficiently familiar in Homeric times for the term 'a diskos throw' to be used as a measure of distance.[4] There is no reason for supposing that the Homeric diskos differed essentially from that with which we are familiar in later times, save that the earlier form was probably of stone instead of metal. But in the σόλος αὐτοχόωνος we have the primitive type from which all lifting and throwing competitions have arisen: a stone, a mass of metal, or a tree trunk provides for early man a weapon in time of war, a test of physical strength in time of peace.

Of these primitive contests and feats of strength we have various records in Greece. A mass of red sandstone discovered at Olympia bears a very early inscription to the effect that Bybon with one hand threw it over his head.[5] The latter part of the inscription is unfortunately doubtful. According to Dittenberger and Purgold, it runs Βύβων τητέρῃ χερὶ ὑπερκεφαλά

[1] *Iliad* xxiii. 826 ff.

[2] Hdt. i. 165.

[3] Apollonius Rhodius iii. 1366, 1372; iv. 657. 851: Nicander. *Ther.* 905: Nonnus, *Dionys.* xxxvii. 667; Quint. Smyrnaeus iv. 136.

[4] *Il.* xxiii. 431, 523: cp. ii. 774: *Od.* iv. 626; viii. 129, 186: xvii. 168.

[5] *Inschr. von Olympia*, 717: Juthner *Antike Turngeräthe*, p. 22.

μ' ὑπερεβάλετο ὁ Φό[λ]α. Neither *ὑπερεβάλετο* nor *ὑπερκεφαλά* seems very satisfactory, and Mr. H. B. Walters therefore suggests the reading *ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὃ ἐφόρει*, 'he threw over his head this thing that he was carrying.' But whatever the reading, the general sense is clear, and the greater difficulty remains, how did he do it? The stone weighs 143½ kilos. and measures 68 × 33 × 38 cms. The explanation that he merely lifted it over his head [6] does not help matters: a one-handed lift of an object of such weight and shape is quite as incredible as the throw. I can only suggest that Bybon lifted it above his head with both hands, then balanced it on one hand and threw it backwards. This is precisely what Aelian describes Titormus as doing with a stone which Milo could hardly move.[7] First he raises it as far his knees then lifts it on to his shoulders, carries it eight *ὀργυιὰς*, and throws it. A larger block of black volcanic rock weighing 480 kilos has been discovered at Santorin. It bears the following inscription of about 500 B.C.: *Εὐμάστας μ' ἄηρεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὁ Κριτοβούλου.*[8] To lift such a weight off the ground is a good performance, but quite possible. The only representation I know of such scenes is in the interior of a r.-f. kylix in the Louvre, G. 96, where we see a youth lifting in both arms a large, roundish object, apparently a stone (Fig. 1). Lifting feats are ascribed to Milo, Euthymus, and other athletes, and the heroes in the *Iliad* hurl in battle boulders that two stalwart men can hardly lift.[9]

Fig. 1. R.-F. Kylix Louvre, G. 96.

The Homeric *σόλος*, like the stones described above, has nothing distinctly athletic about it, any more than our word 'weight.' It is merely a mass of iron, and its athletic use is a mere accident. It is true that, like other objects, especially metal objects or weapons, it has its history. It belonged once to Eetion, king of Thebes, who used to hurl it too. And Achilles after slaying Eetion brought it to Troy among his possessions. But the author is far more concerned with its commercial value: 'it will furnish a countryman with iron for five years'; and we may feel sure that it found its place in Achilles's ship for practical purposes. In Apollonius Rhodius we shall find the *σόλος* always mentioned on the sea shore near the ships. A pig of iron would serve the sailor or soldier in many ways.

The word must have been an unusual one, and certainly puzzled the scholiasts, if we may judge from their numerous notes thereon.[10] With a single exception to be discussed later, these notes, as well as the passages in later

[6] Chrysippidis *B. C. H.* [illegible] *Ἐφημ. ἀρχαιολ.* 1906, p. 57.

[7] *Var. Hist.* xii. 22.

[8] *I.G.* xii. No. 199.

[9] Aelian, *op. cit.* viii. 18; Paus. vi. 11. *B.* v. 302; xii. 445. In the *Odyssey* the Cyclops and the Laestrygones hurl rocks at the ships of Odysseus: ix. 481, 537; x. 121.

[10] Jurlmer, *op. cit.* pp. 20, 22, collects and discusses the scholia.

authors where the word occurs, contain no information which may not be derived from Homer. The word is said to have been found inscribed on a bronze diskos discovered early in the last century in the bed of the Alpheius,[11] but without further information the evidence is worthless. We may however probably connect the word with the names of various places, Soli in Cyprus, and Cilicia, and Soloeis in Sicily (and Mauretania). According to Lewy, these names are cognate to the Semitic *sela*, a rock, and Victor Bérard explains the name as due in all these cases to a prominent headland or hill interrupting a level stretch of coast.[12] The etymology is supported by the note of Hesychius, σόλος = ὄνομα βουνοῦ; and it certainly suits the Homeric σόλος, the transition from a boulder to a mass of metal being easy. Thus in Apollonius Rhodius the great round stone which Jason hurls into the midst of the dragon brood is described as

δεινὸν Ἐνυαλίου σόλον Ἄρεος (iii. 1366),

an expression which recalls the boulders thrown by the heroes of the *Iliad* in war rather than an athletic implement.

But whatever the original meaning of the word, there is reason for thinking that it was from an early date appropriated to metal. Hesychius explains σολοιτύπος as μυδροκτύπος, and the Soli in Cyprus and in Cilicia were certainly in the neighbourhood of mines. So too Apollonius Rhodius in a remarkable passage uses the word in connection with the Portus Argous, the modern Porto Ferraio in Elba, the very name of which implies the neighbourhood of the iron mines for which the island was already famous in classical times. There the Argonauts on their voyage landed and

ψηφῖσιν ἀπωμόρξαντο καμόντες
ἱδρῶ ἅλις· χροιῇ δὲ κατ' αἰγιαλοῖο κέχυνται
εἴκελαι· ἐν δὲ σόλοι καὶ τεύχεα θέσκελα κείνων (iv. 655).

Commentators and translators, following the scholiasts, identify the σόλος with a sort of δίσκος, and describe the Argonauts as holding athletic sports on the shore of Aethalia, and then going through their ablutions with stones for strigils. The pebbles on the shore have a flesh-like appearance in consequence, and their discs and weapons are still to be seen there.[13] Did the Greeks never scrape off the sweat except after games? Had the Argonauts no need of such a process after their endless wanderings and sufferings by sea? And when at last they did find a resting-place, did they at once fall to throwing the diskos? The idea is preposterous, and but for the traditional explanation σόλος = δίσκος it would never have been mooted. Why then are σόλοι mentioned? Welther is surely right, 'spectant fortasse ad ferri abundantiam.'[14] To Apollonius

[11] *C.I.G.* i. 1541.

[12] Lewy, *Semitische Fremdwörter*, p. 145; Bérard, *L'Odyssée et les Phéniciens*, i. p. 334.

[13] Thus in the latest version by Mr. A. S. Way:

There in athlete-strife did they supple their limbs till the sweat of them dripped
As rain, and the pebbles are flecked as with scart-skin strigil-stripped
To this day: and their quoits and wondrous armour are there, all stone.

[14] *De Apollonii Argonauticorum rebus geographicis*, p. 96.

Aethalia would at once suggest the pigs of iron exported from the island and the mainland opposite; and what objects could be more natural on board a ship, whether they served for commerce, for ballast, for shipbuilding, or for weapons? Apollonius is surely thinking of the σόλος αὐτοχόωνος in its commercial rather than its athletic aspect.

However, as we have seen, the σόλος did take the place of the diskos in the sports of the *Iliad*, and so the scholiasts interpret it. In the third and last passage where Apollonius uses the word he describes Thetis coming to Aeaea, where she finds the Argonauts beguiling the time,

σόλῳ ῥιπῇσι τ' ὀιστῶν (iv. 851),
τερπομένους.

The line is an elaborate, archaistic variation of the Homeric

δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέῃσι ἱέντες.[15]

The verse may seem to tell against my interpretation of the previous passage, but in the case of a student and archaeologist like Apollonius it is not unnatural that he should use the same word in two different senses, especially when both senses can be justified from Homer. Even here the σόλος may just as well be the weight as the diskos. Nicander, however, in his *Theriaca* does use the word for a diskos. It is with a σόλος rebounding from a rock, he says, that Apollo killed Hyacinthus.[16] Quintus Smyrnaeus and Nonnus merely imitate and elaborate the passage in the Homeric sports, and their evidence is worthless.

The scholiasts are much exercised in distinguishing the diskos and the solos, and their artificial descriptions still find a place in our commentaries and dictionaries.[17] The diskos is flat, the solos round and ball-shaped; the diskos of stone, the solos of metal: the diskos has a hole in it and a string to throw it with, the solos is solid. The first distinction is fairly accurate; the diskos was flat, the solos a mass, more or less round. As to material, the diskos we know was made both in stone and in metal, and probably the solos could be either. The third and last distinction is ascribed to Tryphon, but another version ascribed to Eratosthenes assigns the hole and string to the solos, not to the diskos.[18] That they belonged to the solos is disproved by every passage in which the word is used; that they belonged to the diskos is still more conclusively disproved by the monuments; and Dr. Jüthner therefore rightly rejects the evidence of the scholiasts. But his idea that the scholiasts invented the hole and string theory to explain the term περιστρέψας is hardly satisfactory. The athletic craze had spread to Alexandria before the time of Eratosthenes, so much so that few places produced such an array

[15] *Il.* ii. 774 = *Od.* iv. 626; xvii. 168.

[16] *Ther.* 905.

[17] Jüthner, *op. cit.* pp. 19 *ff.*, collects and discusses the scholia at length.

[18] Ammon. 40 δίσκος μὲν γάρ ἐστι λίθος τετρημενος ὥς φησι Τρυφων ἐι πεωπτῳ περὶ Ελληνισμοῦ, σόλος δὲ τὸ χαλκοῖι ὁλοσφυριοι.

Odyssey viii. 190 *Schol.* BHQT. ὁ δίσκος λίθος ἦν. καὶ Ερατοσθένης ἐν Ολυμπιονίκαις ἱστορεῖ τὸν μὲν σόλον λέγωι σιδηροῦν ἢ ξύλινον ἢ χαλκοῦν τετρημένον κατὰ τὸ μεσον καὶ ἔχοντα καλώδιον ἐξημμένον. οὗ ἐχόμενοι βάλλουσιν οἱ ἀγωνιζομειοι.

of Olympic victors,[19] and we could hardly credit Eratosthenes with such a blunder. It is possible, indeed, that he is speaking of some popular game in which a round object was bowled along by means of a cord.[20] Mr. R. M. Dawkins tells me he has seen such a game at Orvieto, round stones about a foot in diameter being bowled along the sloping road, much to the danger of pedestrians, by means of a strap wound round their periphery. Cheeses are said to be thus employed in parts of Italy, and to be much improved by the treatment. A more probable explanation, however, is suggested to me by Mr. J. L. Myres. The scholia of *Iliad* xxiii., he says, have become dislocated, and the string and hole belong not to the solos, but to the *καλαῦροψ* mentioned a few lines further on. Polypoetes hurls the solos 'as far as an oxherd throws a *καλαῦροψ*.' This word, which is usually explained somewhat pointlessly as 'a staff,' is really, says Mr. Myres, a sort of bolas, a weapon consisting of a string with one or more stones attached to it, which is used in Spanish America for throwing at and catching cattle. Mr. Myres tells me that he has often seen Greek boys extemporising a sort of bolas with a string and perforated stone. This explanation not only suits the passage in Homer far better than the traditional one of the text, but also offers a most satisfactory solution of the mistake about the solos and diskos. From this passage the mistake would easily be copied elsewhere.

To sum up, *σόλος* is a heavy weight, originally perhaps a boulder, afterwards a mass of metal, and in late writers it is occasionally used as a synonym for diskos.

B.—*The Diskos.*

The word diskos means 'a thing thrown'; originally any stone of convenient shape and size, then a stone artificially shaped for throwing, lastly a similar object in metal. In Homer the diskos is still a stone: how far it is artificial we cannot say, but in one passage at least it seems to be used of the round, smooth stones that are found on the sea-shore. Odysseus, challenged by the Phaeacians, picked up a diskos 'larger than the rest, a thick one, far more massive than those wherewith the Phaeacians contended in casting.'[21] The scene is the agora of the Phaeacians hard by the ships, and the sports are of that impromptu, after-dinner sort that needs no apparatus. The Phaeacians, as Alcinous admits, are no trained athletes, but 'swift of foot and the best of seamen.' In the palaestra of the fifth century one would expect to find diskoi of various weights, like the dumb-bells of a modern gymnasium, but surely not in the agora of the Phaeacians; yet Odysseus finds at once a diskos such as the Phaeacians themselves never use. If we think of the diskos merely as a stone, the difficulty vanishes. The agora is hard by the ships, and on the shore are diskoi ready to hand of all sizes, flat, smooth, round pebbles such as fishermen use as weights for holding down their nets and sails laid out to dry, and such as every visitor to the seaside inevitably

[19] Krause *Gymnastik*, p. 800 [20] Kietz *Diskoswurf*, p. 21 [21] *Od.* viii. 186 ff.

picks up to throw. From such a stone to the manufactured stone diskos the transition is easy, and the recurrence of the phrase

δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέῃσι ἱέντες,[22]

together with the use of the term *δίσκουρα* as a measure of distance, makes it probable that the manufactured diskos was known at all events in the later Homeric times. It is sometimes stated, on the evidence of the epithet *κατωμαδίοιο,*[23] that the Homeric heroes put the diskos as we put the weight. It is possible, of course, but the evidence is insufficient; *κατωμάδιος* would be at least equally applicable to Myron's diskobolos, and the use of the terms *δινήσας* and *περιστρέψας* proves that, whether they put the weight or not, the Homeric heroes sometimes slung the weight.

In Pindar there can be no doubt that the diskos is an athletic implement; and though he must have been familiar with the bronze diskos, he makes his heroes Nikeus and Castor throw the older stone diskos.[24] The latter is clearly represented on certain black figured vases as a thick, white object[25] (Pl. I.), but the evidence of the vases and of the actual diskoi which we possess shows that the bronze diskos must have been introduced before the beginning of the fifth century.

There exist in our museums various inscribed and carved marble diskoi.[26] But though in size and shape they differ little from the bronze specimens, they are too fragile and thin for actual use, and their inscriptions prove clearly that they are merely votive offerings. The practice of inscribing and dedicating diskoi was an ancient one, as we may see from the diskos of Iphitus dedicated at Olympia. With regard to the metal diskos we are more fortunate. Of the specimens which we possess, four are probably votive offerings, but one of these certainly, possibly three, had also been used; the rest were certainly intended for use. Most are of hammered bronze, four of cast bronze, one of lead. Their weights and measurements can be best seen from the following table :—

Finding place.	Museum	Weight in kilos.	Diameter in cms	Thickness in mms
1. Olympia	Olympia. *Inv.* 7567	5·707	34	5–13
2. Corfu	B.M. 2691	3·992	23	6–13
3. Gela	Vienna	3·899	28	7
4. Amyclae	Athens. De Ridder, *Cat.* 530	3·349	19	
5. Olympia	Olympia. *Inv.* 4257	2·945	22	6–12
6. Olympia	Olympia. *Inv.* 12892	2·775	18	11–12
7.	Rome. Museo Kircheriano	2·378	21, 21·5	
8. Olympia	Olympia. *Inv.* 2859	2·083	19, 22·5	3 at edge
9. Sicily	B.M. 248	2·075	21	5
10. Olympia	Berlin	2·023	17·5	9–10
11. Aegina	Berlin	1·984	21	
12. Olympia	Berlin	1·721	20	7
13. Olympia	Berlin. *Inv.* 2286	1·353 (?)	20·5	4
14. Olympia	Olympia. *Inv.* 12891	1·268	17	4–12
15. Cephallenia	B.M. 3207	1·245	16·5	5

[22] *Od.* iv. 626, xvii. 168; *Il.* ii. 774.

[23] *Il.* xxiii. 131

[24] *Ol.* x. 72 πέτρῳ; *Isthm.* i. 23 λιθίοις δίσκοις.

[25] *B.M. Vases*, B. 134, 142, 271; *Athens Nat. Mus.* 832; *Munich* 408; *Berlin Vas.* 1727.

[26] Cambridge, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, 70, 72; Kavvadias, Γλυπτα τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσ. 93; Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. VIII.

No. 1[27] is of cast bronze, ornamented with concentric circles, and bearing on one side a dedication by Poplius, a pentathlete of Corinth, to Olympian Zeus, on the other the name of the alytarch, with the dates respectively Ol. 255, 456. The difference in the date is possibly due to different methods of reckoning the Olympiads. The style and weight make it improbable that it was ever intended for actual use; if it was so, it is an illustration of the degeneracy of athletics and the worship of brute strength which we see also in the development of the heavy caestus.

No. 3[28] also of cast bronze had originally an inlaid dolphin, possibly of silver, which would have added slightly to its weight.

No. 4 is of a somewhat scyphate shape.

No. 5 is fragmentary. The weight is calculated from the diameter and thickness, assuming the surface to be spherical and the specific gravity that of copper. If we make allowance for the slightly smaller specific gravity of bronze and for the weathering of No. 6, the weights of the two will be approximately equal.

No. 6. The weights of the Olympia diskoi are only approximate. They were weighed, Mr. Bosanquet tells me, in the village shop.

No. 7 is of markedly scyphate shape.

No. 9 and No. 11[29] are of cast bronze and engraved on the one side with the figure of a jumper, on the other with that of a spear thrower.[30] No. 11 is also ornamented with a series of concentric circles. They belong to the early part of the fifth century, but though they approximate closely in weight and size to Nos. 8 and 10, their flatness and the sharpness of their edges make me doubtful whether they were intended for actual use.

No. 12 is of lead, and has probably lost considerably in weight.

No. 13 is imperfect. Three pieces are broken away from the edge. It must have weighed 1·5 at least, perhaps considerably more.[31]

No. 15 is also very badly worn, and must have been much heavier. It is inscribed with two hexameters in archaic letters of the sixth century.

Ἐχσοίδα(ς) μ' ἀνέθηκε Διϝὸς Ϙο(ῦ)ροιν μεγάλοιο
χάλκεον ὦ νίκασε Κεφαλ(λ)ᾶνας μεγαθύμους.[32]

In the last Olympic games a wooden diskos with a metal centre was used. It is a thick clumsy object, the product of modern imagination, utterly unlike and in every way inferior to the specimens which we have in our museums. There is no authority for it whatsoever.

Is it possible from these data to arrive at any definite conclusions as to the weights actually used in competitions? The diskoi are all more or less worn, and the weights are therefore only approximate. They seem, however, to fall

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[27] *Olympia* iv. 179; Jüthner *op. cit.* p. 28.

[28] *Jahreshefte* ii. p. 201, Pl. I.

[29] Juthner *op. cit.* pp. 27, 28.

[30] The figure on the B.M. diskos is described in the Catalogue as an athlete holding a measuring cord. The interpretation does not concern us at present: I hope to deal with it in another article.

[31] For particulars of these two I am indebted to Dr. Zahn, from whom I received a drawing of No. 12.

[32] B.M. *Bronzes*, 3207.

into certain groups. The best marked group is composed of Nos. 8—11, and possibly 12 if we make allowance for the greater softness of lead. It suggests a standard of 2·1. Heavier standards are suggested by Nos. 2 and 3, and by Nos. 4 and 5, say 4·0 and 2·8, while Nos. 14, 15 point to a standard of 1·3. Mr. Bosanquet, to whose kindness I am indebted for most of the data given above, suggests that these different standards correspond to the different ages of the competitors, but it is not safe to go beyond the general suggestion. We know that in the treasury of the Sicyonians at Olympia three diskoi were kept for the use of competitors in the pentathlon, and we know that there were two classes of competitors, boys and men, and that the boys used a smaller diskos than the men.[33] But we do not know that the standard at Olympia was the same as that adopted elsewhere, or that the diskoi which we possess were intended for competition. Rather we know that the metrical standards varied considerably in different parts of the Greek world, and also that there were different classifications of age at different festivals.[34] If then we are to arrive at any definite conclusion, we must confine ourselves to the Olympian diskoi, and here the most that we can say is that Nos. 5 and 6 point to a standard of about 2·8, Nos. 8 and 10 to one of about 2·1, which is confirmed by Nos. 9 and 11 and perhaps 12.

Nor do the written records enable us to say for certain what was the standard weight used by men. Phayllus is said to have thrown the diskos ninety-five feet and Philostratus speaks of the hero Protesilaus throwing beyond a hundred cubits, and that with a diskos twice the size of the Olympian one.[35] Statius,[36] again, describes Phlegyas as hurling the diskos across the Alpheius at its widest.[37] Little credit can be attached to these records, but as far as they go they agree with the one fact emphasized by writers, that the diskos was a heavy object.[38] In view of this and of the existing diskoi, it seems probable that the men's diskos was usually considerably heavier than 2 kilos; usually, but not always, for the lightest diskos in the list is that with which Exoidas defeated the high-souled Cephallenians.

The dimensions of the diskos in art correspond with those given in our table. On the vases too the diskos is often ornamented with concentric circles, as in Nos. 1 and 11, with various forms of crosses and dots, or with the figures of birds or animals.[39] When not in use the diskos was kept in a sort of sling, the two ends of which were tied in a knot. In such a sling the diskos is frequently represented hanging on the wall or carried in the hands of a youth.[40]

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[33] Pausanias vi. 19. 3; i. 35. 3.

[34] *e.g.* at the Panathenaea, Nemea, and Isthmia, παῖδες, ἀγένειοι, ἄνδρες. Elsewhere we have four or even five classes, *C.I.G.* 1590, 2214; *I.G.* ii. 444.

[35] *Heroic.* p. 291.

[36] *Theb.* vi. 675.

[37] In the last Olympic games a diskos of 2 kilos was used. The winner in the Greek style threw it 115 ft. 4 in., the winner in the free style 136 ft. The free style is possibly more effective, the modern Greek style certainly less so than that employed by the ancient Greeks.

[38] Lucian *Anach.* 27. Galen *de val. tuenda* ii. 9-11. iii. Homer. Statius *loc. cit.*

[39] Juthner *op. cit.* p. 29.

[40] *ib.* p. 30. *E.g. B.M. Vases* E 78; vol. xxvi. of this journal, Pl. xiii.

C.—*The Balbis.*

The diskos, according to Philostratus, was thrown from a βαλβίς, our knowledge of which is derived entirely from an extremely difficult passage describing the picture of the death of Hyacinthus.[41] βαλβίς διακεχώρισται μικρὰ καὶ ἀποχρῶσα ἑνὶ ἑστῶτι εἰ μὴ τὸ κατόπιν καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν σκέλος ἀνέχουσα πρανῆ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ κουφίζουσα θάτερον τοῖν σκέλοιν ὃ χρῆ συναναβάλλεσθαι καὶ συμπορεύεσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ δίσκου ἀνέχοντος ἐξαλλάξαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ χρὴ κυρτοῦσθαι τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὑποβλέψαι τὰ πλευρὰ καὶ ῥιπτεῖν οἷον ἀνιμῶντα καὶ προσεμβάλλοντα τοῖς δεξιοῖς πᾶσι. As Benndorf rightly says, 'omnia dependent a Myronis discobolo,' the last sentence being a singularly happy description of the statue with the ropelike pull of the right arm and the concentrated effort of all the right side of the body. The first sentence is more difficult. 'A balbis is marked off small and sufficient for one man standing εἰ μὴ τὸ κατόπιν, and supporting the right leg, the front part of the body leaning forward while it lightly supports the other leg, which is to be swung forward and follow through with the right hand.' This is the rendering given by Jüthner in an elaborate discussion of this passage in *Eranos Vindob.*, p. 317, and is manifestly superior to Benndorf's version in his edition of the *Imagines*. Jüthner, after an exhaustive examination of the uses of βαλβίς, proceeds to identify the βαλβίς of Philostratus with the stone slabs with which we are familiar from the stadia of Olympia, Delphi, and other places. It is indeed highly probable, though at present there is no proof thereof, that the pentathlete did throw the diskos and the spear from the same line of slabs from which the races started. But when Dr. Jüthner, assuming that the βαλβίς of Philostratus is identical in size with these slabs, uses this assumption to explain the words εἰ μὴ τὸ κατόπιν as due to the narrowness of the slabs, which only afforded room for the right foot and not for the left foot behind, it is impossible to follow him; and, to do him justice, we must admit that he is not satisfied himself.[42] 'Ich gestehe dass diese Erklärung nicht ganz überzeugend klingt.' As a matter of fact, the starting slabs are amply sufficient for one man to stand on, though possibly not in the position of Myron's diskobolos; but if we think out the expression, what possible sense is there in 'a space small and sufficient for one man except behind'? It is absolutely unthinkable, and we must either abandon the passage as hopeless or find some other interpretation. The absurdity to which we are reduced suggests the solution. A parallelogram cannot be sufficient for one man 'except behind'; therefore the words qualify some-

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[41] *Im.* i. 24 (Benndorf and Schenkl). The earlier text of Kayser reads διακέχωσται for διακεχώρισται, ἢ δή for καὶ μή, συναναπάλλεσθαι for συναναβάλλεσθαι, and inserts ἐργάζεται after τὰ ἔμπροσθεν. Benndorf's text is undoubtedly superior; but I regret the alteration of συναναπάλλεσθαι, which has considerable MSS. authority, and, being the rarer word, is more likely to have been changed. The word is so wonderfully appropriate and lifelike

[42] His reference of διακεχώρισται to the two grooves on the starting slabs is quite pointless.

thing else; they can only qualify διακεχώρισται. The meaning is clear at once. The βαλβίς is marked off—small and sufficient for one man—it is marked off except behind. That the competitor must not overstep the line in front is an elementary principle of all such competitions. In the present day the hammer thrower or weight putter is confined to a square or circle. The conditions for the diskos thrower were not so severe; the balbis was marked off sideways but not behind, and, as we shall see, the method of throwing implied in the diskobolos of Myron requires room for at least one step forward. As I have said, it seems probable *a priori* that the starting slabs should have been used for throwing the diskos and the spear. At the same time, in the Delphi inscription describing the preparations for the Pythian games we find mention of τὰμ παρὰ τοῖς πεντάθλοις, the contract for which was eight staters.[43] As special contracts are named for the running track, the jumps, and the boxing ring (which would naturally serve also for wrestling and the pankration), the arrangements for the pentathlon would seem to refer to the diskos and the spear, *i.e.* the βαλβίς and the means for measuring the throw, and these arrangements seem therefore to be distinct from the starting arrangements for the races.

Kietz's theory of the βαλβίς as a small platform sloping downwards has been conclusively disproved by Jüthner, and need hardly have been noticed had it not been adopted by the Greek authorities in the recent Olympic games. According to their wonderful regulations, the platform is 80 cm. long by 70 cm. wide, with a height of not more than 15 cm. behind and not less than 5 cm. in front. This extraordinary arrangement is based solely and entirely on the old, corrupt reading of the obscure passage in Philostratus quoted above. Even if the old text was correct, its evidence would be absolutely worthless in face of the manifest absurdity of the idea, and the fact that in all the numerous statues, bronzes, vases, and gems representing the diskobolos there is not the slightest trace of such a platform. Can we imagine Myron's diskobolos tilted forwards? Were it so, there would indeed be some excuse for Herbert Spencer's criticism that he is about to fall on his face! Even the scanty literary evidence is conclusive against this arrangement. Lucian, Philostratus, and Statius all emphasize the follow through of the diskobolos. As the diskos swings down the left leg must inevitably be advanced, and a platform which prevents such a movement not only renders a good throw impossible, but, being fatal to all freedom and grace of action, is absolutely un-Greek.[44]

The throw was measured from the front line of the βαλβίς to the place where the diskos fell. That the competitor might not overstep the line in throwing the diskos or the javelin is obvious, and in the case of the latter is clearly implied by Pindar's expression μὴ τέρμα προβάς,[45] words which could never have been misinterpreted by anyone with even a superficial knowledge

[43] *B.C.H.* 1899, p. 566, l. 32.

[44] In my criticism of the modern Greek style I rely on the photographs in Chryssaphis's article and on descriptions from eye-witnesses, especially Mr. G. S. Robertson.

[45] Eustathius ad Hom. *Od.* viii. 202 p. 1591, 42: *Nem.* vii. 70.

of athletics, except to defend some *a priori* theory. This line, like the jumper's βατήρ is possibly indicated on certain vases by spears stuck in the ground[46] (Pl. II.). The place where the diskos fell was marked by a peg or arrow, as described by Statius, and on several vases we see a diskobolos putting down or pulling up such a mark.[47] (Fig. 2.)

In the modern free style the diskos is thrown from a circular area $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres in diameter, and the method of throwing it is a modification of that of throwing the hammer, the thrower's body making either two or three complete turns. Of such a method there is no trace in ancient times, and

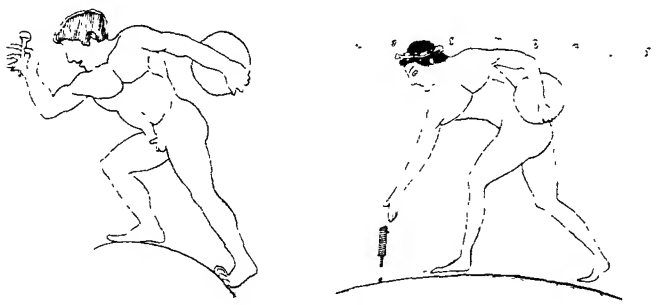

Fig. 2.—R.-F. Kylikes. (After Juthner, Fig. 27.)

effective as it undoubtedly is, we may doubt if it would ever have been invented but for the experience acquired in hammer-throwing.

D.—*The Method of Throwing the Diskos. The Evidence.*

It would be tedious and unprofitable to describe and criticize the various schemes elaborated by scholars for throwing the diskos. No branch of Greek athletics has been treated at greater length or with less regard to practice and unfortunately the scheme established by the Greek authorities in the recent Olympic games is no exception. As the defects in these schemes are largely due to a misappreciation of the value of the different classes of evidence, it may be useful briefly to review the evidence.

(1) *Literary.*

The literary evidence is of the scantiest, and practically useless except as confirming the evidence of the monuments. Besides the passage in Philostratus discussed above, we have a few scattered allusions in Lucian and a lengthy description in Statius of a type common in later epics.[48] In the latter the heroic character of the contest is marked by the vast weight of the

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[46] *B.M. Vases* B 574; Krause *Gymn.* xiv. 49; cp. *J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 186.

[47] Juthner *op. cit.* p. 32, Figs. 26, 27; *Coll. Dutoit*, Paris, 1879, 79; Girard *L'Education Athénienne*, f. 23; Pottier *Louvre* 9. 73.

[48] Lucian *Philopseud.* 18; *Anacharsis* 27; *Dialog. Deor.* xiv. 2; Statius *Theb.* vi. 679–712.

diskos. There are various archaeological details with which we are familiar from other sources, but of the actual throw we learn nothing which we could not learn from Myron's statue. The description of Hippomedon throwing the diskos over his head into the air as a preliminary show off has indeed suggested to M. Girard the delightful theory that the Greeks practised not only 'le lancement en longueur' but 'le lancement en haut.'[49] One wonders how they contrived to measure the height! Jüthner, again, depends chiefly on various poetical expressions for his wonderful theory of the Kreisschwung,[50] a method of throwing the diskos by whirling the arm round as when one jerks a cricket ball, a feat highly dangerous to performer and spectators, but hardly likely to break records. He is surprised that a method so frequently alluded to in literature finds such scanty support in the monuments! Lastly, it is on the strength of the passage in Philostratus and of Myron's statue that the Greeks have derived ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ δισκοβολία, arguing that because Myron's diskobolos has his right foot forward, the right foot must be kept forward till the completion of the throw, and regardless of the fact that even the literary evidence proves that the left foot was advanced as the diskos swung down. Such theories are highly creditable to the imagination of the authors, and prove conclusively the inadequacy of the literary evidence.

(2) *Monumental.*

Fortunately, the evidence of the monuments is exceptionally rich and varied. The two statues, Myron's Diskobolos (Fig. 18) and the Standing Diskobolos (Figs. 13), often assigned to Naucydes, are of first-rate importance, such works being independent of the accidents which affect the types in the lesser arts. Besides these we have a multitude of vases, bronzes, gems, and coins representing this subject. Their evidence is of very different value. Bronzes often form part of candelabra or serve as handles of vessels, and the figure is therefore modified by practical considerations. The vase painter is influenced by laws of composition or by the shape of the vase space, especially in the interior of kylikes. The same cause operates still more strongly in the case of gems and coins, as we may see by comparing the copies thereon of Myron's statue with the original.[51] Hence, when we come to classifying the types in these objects, we find apparent divergence, often due not to difference in motive, but to differences of material or space, or to the age and style of the artists. The classification is important, because the constant repetition of any motive is fair evidence that the attitude represented is typical of the performance. Again, not only does the style of the artist vary; that of the diskobolos himself must have varied equally. It is inconceivable that the ancient Greek athletes should have been compelled slavishly to imitate the style of a particular performer, or even of a statue. The swing of the diskos must have varied with individual performers as much as the swing of the golf

[49] *Op. cit.* p. 292

[50] *Op. cit.* p. 32.

[51] Furtwangler *Antik. Gemmen* xliv. 26, 27.

club, and we may naturally expect to see these differences of style reflected in art. It has been necessary to dwell on these causes of divergence, because of the tendency of archaeologists to force every attitude represented into one series of movements. It is as though someone utterly ignorant of golf were to try to reconstruct a single swing out of a miscellaneous collection of photographs or drawings of various golfers playing various shots and a few medals or prizes bearing conventional representations of the game. At the same time, though we must expect to find variety in style, we shall find, I believe, that the general principle of the throw is always the same.

E.—*Typical Positions.*

The scheme generally accepted in England till recently is based on the two statues. It distinguishes three stages :

(1) The thrower takes up the position of the Standing Diskobolos, right foot in front, the diskos in his left hand (Fig. 13).

(2) He swings the diskos forward and as it rises grasps it firmly with his right hand, a position commonly represented on vases (Fig. 3).

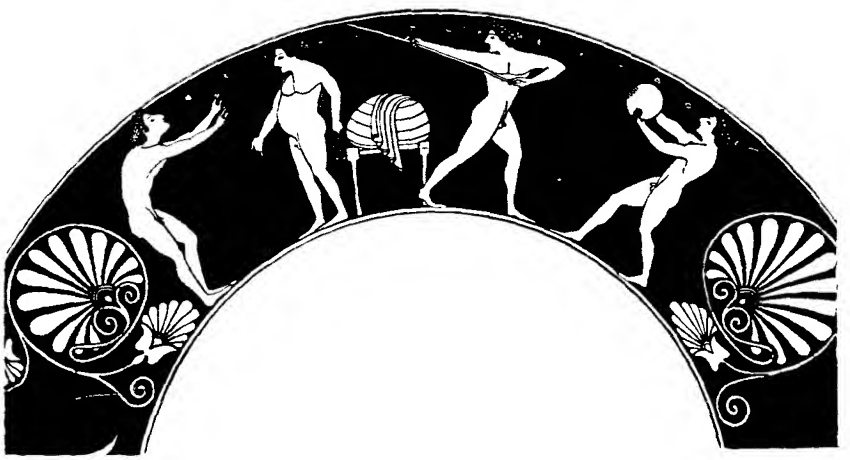

Fig. 3.—R.-F. Kylix. B.M. E76.

(3) He swings the diskos downwards and backwards in the right hand, turning head and body to the right, till at the end of the backward swing he is in the position represented by Myron (Fig. 18).

In this extremely simple scheme the right foot is the pivot on which the whole body swings. This swing of the body round a fixed point is of the essence of the swing of the diskos as of a golf club. The force comes not from the arms, which merely connect the body and the weight, but from the lift of the thighs and swing of the body. Kietz[52] in his criticism of Six's scheme[53] describes the upward swing in the left hand as useless, because the

[52] *Op. cit.* pp. 84. 85. [53] *Gaz. Arch.* 1888. p. 291.

diskos is thrown by the right hand, not the left. Such criticism shows a complete misunderstanding of the whole theory of the swing, in which the arms are less important than body and legs. The scheme as far as it goes would be quite satisfactory, were it not that it fails to account for the very large number of vase paintings where the diskobolos is shown with the left foot advanced. The same criticism applies to Jüthner's scheme.

Besides the positions of the two statues, there are two other positions, of such frequent occurrence on vases and on bronzes that we feel sure that they belong to the ordinary method of throwing the diskos.

(1) The diskobolos holds the diskos in front of him in both hands (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 16, Pl. II.).

(2) He hold the diskos flat in the right hand, which is turned out so that the diskos rests on the forearm (Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, Pls. I., III.). The left hand is usually raised above the head.

Let us examine these two types, paying especial attention to the position of the feet, a detail of supreme importance, which has however been unduly neglected by nearly all writers on the subject.

(1) *Diskos held to the front in both hands.*

There can be no doubt as to the moment represented in this type: it is the moment immediately before the diskos is swung back in the right hand. If the right foot were always advanced, there would be no difficulty, this position being the natural link between the positions of the two statues. In a certain number of vases this is the case,[54] but in a far greater number we find the left foot advanced (Fig. 4). Now the position of the feet cannot be due to accident or carelessness, for the uniformity of other details is remarkable. The advanced leg is always straight or nearly so, the other leg more or less bent. The right hand always grasps the diskos, the left hand merely supports it. This position of the hands is invariable.[55] Kietz, indeed, mentions a kylix where the position of the hands is reversed; but the figure there depicted has nothing to do with the actual throw.[56] It is true he holds the diskos to the front with both hands; but he is standing at ease, with both feet together, and even has his himation thrown over his shoulder! Seeing, then, that the artists show such care and accuracy in depicting the position of the hands and other details, we cannot dismiss as accidental the fact that in so many instances the left foot is advanced, while in both the statues the right foot is in front. The difference cannot be that between a right-handed

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[54] Right foot in front, Gerh. *A. V.* 259–260 (r.-f. vases); *Mus. Chius.* ii. t. 196 (r.-f. kylix); *B.M. Vases* E 6 (r.-f. kylix). Left foot in front. *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, 11. 1879, 4; *Ann. d. I.* 1846, 4. M., Gerh. *A. V.* 39–294; *Ant. Bild.* i. 4, 68; d'Hancarville i. 68; *B.M. Vases* B 142, 326, 361, 576, 691, E 288; *Mus. Greg.* ii. 1 a, 4. lxiii. 1. lxx. 2 a. *Bibliothèque Nationale*, 354.

[55] Cp. vases where I do not know the position of feet. Schone *Mus. Bocchi* 1 (a fragment of kylix), r-f. krater, Naples 3084, r-f. kylix, Munich, 805; r-f. hydria, Munich, 377; r-f. amphora, Hermitage, St. Petersburg 1669; r-f. fragment, Berlin 4041.

This very incomplete list will give some idea of the frequency of this type.

[56] *Mus. Chius* ii. 195; Kietz *op. cit.* p. 75.

and left-handed throw, for, apart from the absence of any other evidence for the use of the left hand, the position of the hands, the right hand firmly grasping, the left merely supporting the diskos, proves conclusively that the diskos is to be thrown with the right. We are forced to conclude, therefore, that as the diskos swings forward in the left hand the left foot is advanced, and of this we shall find further evidence when we come to consider this forward swing.

How then does the diskobolos pass from this position with the left foot forward to the position of Myron's statue? The change of feet may be effected in two ways—either by making another step forward with the right

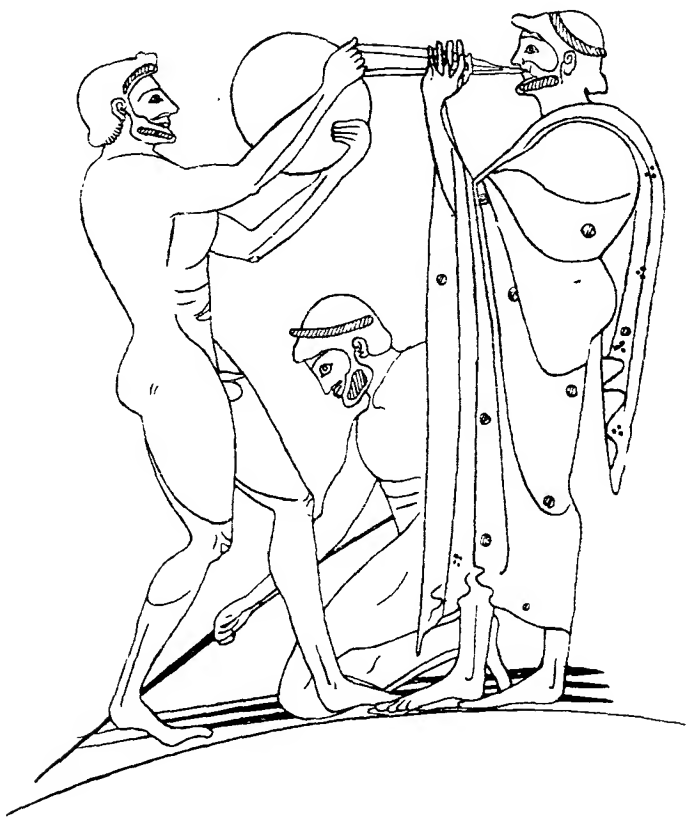

FIG. 4.—B.-F. KELEBE. B.M. E 361.

foot, or by drawing back the left foot. The former was the method adopted by some performers in the Olympic games of 1896. Starting with the left foot forward, the thrower raised the diskos in both hands to a level with the shoulders, and at the moment of swinging it back advanced the right foot, stepping forward again with the left foot as the diskos swung forward for the throw. This method requires room for three steps forward, the impetus being helped by this forward movement. The other method requires room for only one step, and the pendulum-like swing of

the left leg, first forward, then back, and finally forward again, seems at least equally effective as helping the swing of the body, like the preliminary waggle of a golf club.[57] Both methods are, of course, incompatible with the balbis of the last Olympic games. Both are equally effective, and possibly both were employed. A few of the vases are in favour of the forward step,[58] but the strong inclination of the body backwards in most of the figures is in favour of the backward step. Particularly convincing is the attitude shown on a r.-f. krater of Amasis (Fig. 5). The diskobolos is represented three-quarter face, a position which has greatly troubled the artist: he holds the diskos before him in both hands, resting his weight on his right foot, while the advanced left foot barely touches the ground. The drawing is careless in some respects, the athlete, for example, having two right hands, but the balance of the body clearly indicates that the left foot must be moved backwards. A B.M. hydria B. 326, published in Marquardt's *Pentathlon*, Pl. II., carries the movement a step farther. The left hand is already releasing the diskos, and the left foot is raised well off the ground. These two vases seem conclusive for the backward movement of the left foot.

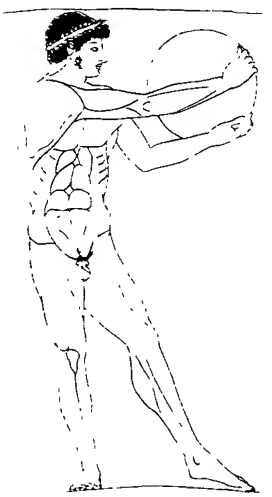

FIG. 5.—R.-F. KRATER. (After Hartwig, Fig. 56 *a*.)

(2) *Diskos flat in the right hand.*

The second typical position of the diskobolos is with the diskos slightly in front of the body in the right hand, which is turned outwards so that the diskos rests flat against the forearm. The left arm is usually raised above the head, or in a few cases it is stretched to the front. The right foot is usually advanced. The attitude of the body varies greatly, from the stiff upright position of certain bronzes to the stooping attitude depicted in the interior of a r.-f. kylix ascribed to Euphronius (Fig. 9). This difference of attitude seems at first sight to favour Kietz's view that we have here two distinct types, one in which the body is practically at rest and the performer is merely feeling the weight of the diskos by a short preliminary swing, the other forming part of the actual swing. But a consideration of the various classes of monuments leads rather to the conclusion that the position of the arms is the essential point, and that the variation in the pose of the body is due rather to the limitations of the early artists.

The type occurs in a number of bronzes, mostly archaic and of the class

[57] This movement of the left leg is part of the scheme prepared by Six, the only fault of which is the endeavour to include too many types in one series.

[58] E.g. *B.M. Vases* E 393, 395.

formerly described as Etruscan.[59] The diskobolos on the cover of a bronze lebes in the B.M. (Fig. 6) is an imitation, possibly by an Etruscan artist, of

FIG. 6.—DISKOBOLOS ON BRONZE LEBES. B.M. 559.

[59] Reinach *Répertoire* ii. 544. 3, 4, 5; *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 36, Fig. 8; *Ann. d. I.* 1879. p. 133, No. 5 (=Kietz, Fig. 2); *B.M. Bronzes*, 502; Munich Antiquarium, 128; *Burlington F. A. Club Catalogue*, 1903. Pl. L. 38 a, b. A similar type is found on the coins of Abdera, Kietz. Fig. 4.

the Greek archaic type, the general features of which it reproduces, though it shows none of the promise of true archaic art. The stiff attitude with the feet only slightly apart and the body upright, an attitude which at first sight seems incompatible with vigorous action, is characteristic of early bronzes. But what is the meaning of the uplifted left hand, unless it is to balance the body? And why should the body need this assistance unless the diskos is being vigorously swung? It seems as if the artists could reproduce the position of the arms and legs, but not that of the body, in action, a fact which should not surprise us when we remember that even Myron in his diskobolos has not completely overcome this difficulty. This view is confirmed by comparison with similar but finer Attic bronzes of the fifth century, where the stiffness has disappeared and the attitude is full of action and vigour. An excellent example of this is the beautiful little bronze exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903, to the graceful vigour of which our illustration does not do justice (Fig 7). Here the right foot is well advanced, the right knee is bent, and the weight, as in Myron's statue, rests entirely on the right leg, the left foot touching the ground only with the toes. Another interesting bronze is figured in the Catalogue of the Forman Collection, No. 77.[60] The left arm instead of being raised is extended horizontally sideways, a variation very similar to one which we shall find represented on the vases.

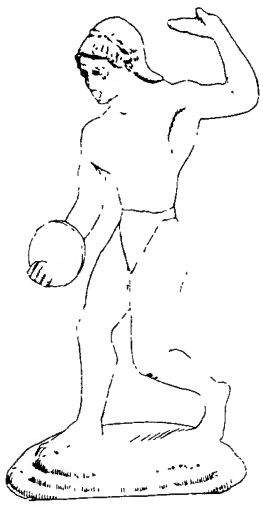

FIG. 7.—FIFTH CENTURY BRONZE
(After Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1903, Pl. L.)

In these bronzes the right leg is usually advanced, but here, as in the vases, we find a few exceptions with the other leg in front.[61] There are also several bronzes representing a youth holding a diskos in either right or left hand, but not expressing any definite action.[62]

The stiff, upright type is found also on certain black-figured vessels; for example, on the British Museum Panathenaic vase B 143.[63] Kietz excludes such vases from his consideration, on the ground that the figures are depicted in a sort of procession. But despite the processional character which is common to many early vases, the attitudes of all the athletes are distinctive of their particular performances: the jumper swings his halteres, the spear-thrower poises his spear, and the diskobolos, with his large white diskos flat in his right hand and his left hand uplifted, is identical in type with the diskobolos of the bronzes. At the same time, the processional character may account for the fact that he, like all the other figures in the

[60] Reinach, *op. cit.* iii 153. 6.

[61] *ib.* iii 153. 5 (according to Reinach, identical with ii. 544. 5, but this is apparently an error, or else the drawings are wrong, as the position of the legs is reversed.); B.M. 504. 559

[62] Reinach. *op. cit.* ii. 544, 6. 7. 9: 545. 1. 2, 4; 814, 4.

[63] Juthner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 44; *J.H.S.* vol. i. Pl. VIII.

procession, has the left foot advanced. The very similar figure on the B.M. vase B 271 (Pl. I.) has the right foot foremost.[64] A very conventional treatment of the same type is seen on a r.-f. amphora in the Lambert Collection, reproduced by de Witte, Pl. xxiv. The artist has attempted to represent a diskobolos three-quarter face: the exaggerated treatment of the muscles and the affected pose give the figure an archaistic appearance, and de Witte therefore considers the vase the work of an Italian imitator. I know of no examples of the upright type on the red-figured vases, except perhaps a r.-f. amphora in Munich,[65] on which are two groups of three figures, diskoboloi and akontistai. Of these only the central figure in either group represents action. The diskobolos holds a diskos slightly to the front, flat in his right hand: his body is carefully balanced, leaning slightly backwards, with the weight on the left foot, which is behind, but the left arm instead of being raised is held by the side, bent at the elbow.

Just as we saw in the bronzes the archaic type, where the motive is obscured by the stiffness, passing into a freer, more vigorous type where the motive cannot possibly be mistaken, so it is with the vases; and the connecting link is furnished by the diskobolos on a b.-f. tripod from Tanagra, now in Berlin[66] (Fig. 8). The artist's intention of expressing vigorous action is obvious. The bearded athlete strides forward with his right leg, holding a thick white diskos in his right hand well in front of the body, the left hand being raised as usual. In its stiffness and angularity the figure resembles the archaic bronzes; in its movement it suggests the beautiful figure in the centre of the kylix in the Bourguignon collection at Naples, to which I have already referred (Fig. 9). Every line and curve in this latter figure denotes action, though I fancy the artist has somewhat exaggerated the stoop of the body to suit the circular space.

Fig. 8.—B.-F. Tripod, Berlin. 1727.

The angle of the body naturally varies greatly; sometimes it is inclined forward, sometimes upright, sometimes thrown well back. This latter position is represented on a r.-f. kylix published by Noel des Vergers, Pl. xxxvii, and also on the outside of the Bourguignon kylix mentioned above (Fig. 10). In the first of these the left foot is advanced; in the second the left arm instead of being raised above the head is stretched well to the front, still, however, with the intention of balancing the body. We find the same position of the arms on two r.-f. pelikai in the British Museum E 393, 395 (Pl. III.). In both the diskobolos appears to be taking a step forward with the right foot, but in the one the body is upright, in the other it is stooping.

[64] So too has the diskobolos on a vase figured by Tischbein i. 54 (Krause xiii. 44), of which I can find no particulars. He has his right arm bent at the elbow, and the whole attitude is supple and vigorous.

[65] Munich. 408; Furtwangler - Reichhold. Pl XLV.

[66] *Berlin Vas.* 1727; *Arch. Zeit.* 1881. Pl. III.

If then we are right in assuming that, in spite of variations, the motive of all these bronzes and vases is the same, the essential points being the use

FIG. 9.—R.-F. KYLIX. NAPLES. (After *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. XVI.)

of the unemployed hand to balance the body and the position of the hand which holds the diskos, it remains to consider what this motive is. We may dismiss at once the delightful suggestion of Girard that the diskobolos amused himself by throwing the diskos up in the air and catching it, and that this is the motive here represented.[67] We may also dismiss Kietz's suggestion that in those cases where a swing is clearly indicated the diskobolos is swinging the diskos backwards and forwards in the right hand in order to make the muscles supple. This idea fails to explain why the right hand is turned outwards, and is based on the mistaken idea that the throw of the diskos depends chiefly on the swing of the right arm and not on the body swing. Jüthner, again, imagines that the diskos is being swung to the front in the right hand, and he therefore places this movement previous to the position with the diskos in both hands. But this view is open to the same objection as Kietz's scheme: there is no danger of the diskos slipping, and the outward turn of the right hand is pointless. It is not only pointless, it is unnatural; for every gymnast knows how difficult it is to raise a weight

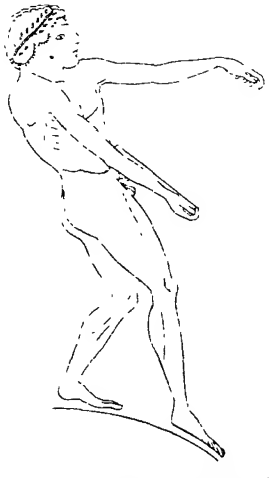

FIG. 10.—(From exterior of Fig. 9.)

[67] *Loc. cit.* p. 202.

to the front with the hand turned out, and we may be sure that, in an exercise depending for its success on the smooth and harmonious working of all the muscles, any such constrained and awkward movement would have been avoided. On the other hand, if the movement represented is a downward swing from the two-handed position to the position of Myron's statue, all difficulties vanish. This downward swing must have been a very vigorous movement, in which the diskos might easily slip. Hence the outward turn of the right hand to prevent slipping, and the use of the left hand to preserve the balance. Hence too the fact that in nearly every case the right leg is advanced.

This view of the relation between the two types is confirmed by a most interesting bronze in the British Museum (Fig. 11), which represents the moment of transition.[68] The diskobolos stands with right foot advanced and both hands holding the diskos, which instead of being upright rests flat on the palm of the right hand, while the left hand only touches it lightly and is on the point of letting go. We may notice, however, that the thumb of the left hand is turned inwards, whereas in the vases it is as a rule on the outside of the diskos. The same peculiarity is noticeable in a bronze in the Museum at Athens,[69] where the diskos is held in both hands high above the head. This position could not be reached if the diskos were swung to the front in the left hand from the position of the standing diskobolos. If, however, the diskobolos takes up his stand holding the diskos in the left hand level with the shoulder, and then, grasping it with the right hand, raises it to arm's length, we reach the exact position represented in the bronzes. The attitude is indeed depicted on several vases, the diskos being sometimes held close to the head,[70] sometimes extended to the front.[71] Variations of the motive occur where the diskos is held thus on the right hand [72] or rests on the shoulder,[73] and in such figures there can be no connexion with the actual throw, but the position of the hand in the bronzes forces us to suppose a previous position with the diskos raised thus in the left hand. The position is well shown on a lekythos from Eretria, published in the *Ephemeris* for 1886 (Fig. 12) though, as Mr. Bosanquet points out to me, it is doubtful if this particular vase represents a stage in the throw, the stool with the clothes upon it rather indicating that the youth is leaving the

[68] *B.M. Bronzes* 675; Murray *Greek Sculpture* i. p. 274. Perhaps the same moment is represented on the *B.M.* kylix E 96, where the right hand grasps the diskos as usual, while the left, instead of supporting it underneath, rests flat on the surface.

[69] No. 7412. Chryssaphis *op. cit.*, Fig. 2. Though the surface is much corroded, it is of fine and vigorous workmanship. It will be shortly published in the catalogue of the Athenian bronzes by the Ephor M. Stais, who has kindly sent me through Mr. Dawkins a photograph of it. On a *B.M.* gem, 1817, the diskobolos holds the diskos high above the head in both hands.

[70] Gerh. *A.V.* 272; *B.M. Vases*, E 256. Cp. relief on Athenian stele. Sybel *Weltgeschichte der Kunst*, p. 107; Murray *Greek Sculpture* i. p. 138.

[71] R.-f. amphorae, Munich, 1. 9 = Kietz *op. cit.*, Figs. 6, 7; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886. Pl. IV; *B.M. Vases*, E 96.

[72] Gerh. *A.V.* 22.

[73] *B.M. Vases*, B 136.

dressing-room, perhaps calling to a companion to come on. Here then we have an alternative position to that of the Standing Diskobolos.

FIG. 11.—BRONZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (675).

One difficulty remains. As we have seen, the normal position of the first type, with the diskos in both hands, shows the left foot forward; the normal position of the second type, with the diskos flat in the right hand, shows the right foot forward. The transition is made either by advancing the right foot or, more probably, by drawing back the left. There are, however, exceptions. Sometimes the right foot is to the front in the first type, occasionally the left foot in the second type.[74] Though such variations may possibly be due to the artist's carelessness, the care shown in other details renders it more probable that they are due to variations in the style of throwing. For example, a diskobolos starting with the right foot forward

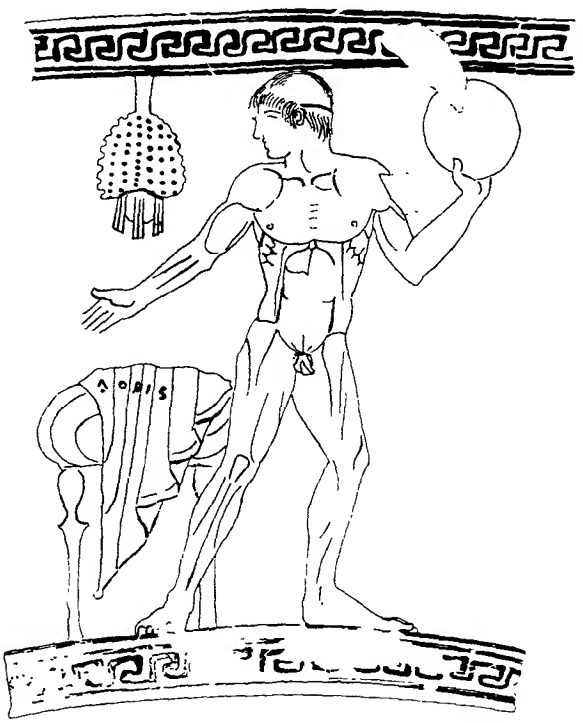

FIG. 12.—LEKYTHOS FROM ERETRIA. (From Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886.

might prefer to reach the forward position without advancing the left foot. Or again, supposing he does advance the left foot, and supposing that to reach the position of Myron's statue he has to draw back the left foot, this movement of the foot may take place at various times. He may let go the diskos with the left hand first, in which case we have the diskos swinging back in the right hand and the left leg still advanced. If, however, he drew back the left leg first, he would for a moment still be holding the diskos in both hands, but the right leg would be advanced, and it is noticeable that

[74] *V. supra* pp. 14. 18.

in vases which do show this attitude the left foot rests very lightly on the ground, and the body is slightly inclined forward. The precise moment at which the change took place would be just one of those details in which we might expect to find a difference in style.

It has been necessary to discuss these types at length, because they establish the two important principles, that the diskobolos changed the position of his feet in different parts of the swing, and that there was considerable variation in the style of throwing. At the same time, there are certain typical positions which we may regard as fixed: the position with the diskos in both hands, the swing back in the right hand, and Myron's diskobolos. Bearing these principles and these positions in mind, we may proceed to reconstruct the method of throwing.

F.—*Reconstruction of the Throw.*

(*a*) *The stand and preliminary movements.*

After first rubbing the diskos with sand[75] to secure a better grip, the diskobolos takes up his position on the balbis, a space possibly marked out by side lines, certainly by a line in front. At a little distance behind this line he takes his stand, carefully measuring with his eye the space he requires, so as not to overstep the line. This is the precise moment represented in the Standing Diskobolos (Fig. 13), a statue the athletic meaning of which has been so much neglected that one writer has actually proposed to reconstruct it as a Hermes Diskophoros.[76] The care with which he is planting the right foot, the firm grip which the toes are taking of the ground and the consequent contraction of the muscles of the calf and leg, the slight bend of the body to the right, all indicate that though the weight may for the moment rest on the left leg, it will be immediately transferred to the right. Whether the left leg is kept stationary, or is advanced to the front and then drawn back, the right leg is the pivot on which the swing depends; and on no other hypothesis can the statue be explained. The position is one of rest; but it is the rest which precedes action, and every line of the figure betokens the preparation for action. A point which has never, so far as I know, been duly noticed is the direction of the head and eyes. The diskobolos is not, as is sometimes asserted, looking down the course toward the mark, whatever the mark may be; much less is he taking aim, a part of the performance to which Jüthner and others assign an undue importance in a competition for distance. His head is inclined to the right and somewhat downwards, and his eyes are fixed on the ground a few feet in front. He is, as I have said, mentally measuring the distance to which he may advance the left foot as in the final swing the diskos is swung forward for the throw. For, in spite of the modern Greek authorities, the actual throw must take place off the left foot.

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[75] Statius *loc. cit.*

[76] G. Habich in *Jahrb.* 1898 p. 57. This view is refuted by A. Michaelis in the same vol. p. 175.

The right forearm is said to be modern: if so, the restoration is peculiarly happy: the position of the arm is found on certain bronzes which closely resemble the statue,[77] and the nervous curling of the fingers appropriately suggests alertness and readiness to seize the diskos as it is swung forward in the left hand to the front position. The artist has not merely put a diskos into

FIG. 13.—THE STANDING DISKOBOLOS. VATICAN.

the hand of a youth standing at ease; he has, as we should expect him to do in a work of such importance, selected a truly typical and important position.

Starting then in this position, the thrower may either keep the left leg stationary or step forward with it. In the latter case he will be in the

[77] Pourtalès xiii. 3 = Reinach ii 545. 3; *Arch. Anz.* 1904. p. 36, n. 7.

position shown on the Panaetius kylix in Munich (Fig. 14). The left leg is advanced and straight; the weight rests on the right leg, which is bent; the body leans forward, and the right hand extended to the front serves to counterbalance the weight of the diskos, which is still held behind the body. Kietz sees in this figure a left-handed diskobolos about to throw —in a most original style! Jüthner sees in him a youth stooping down to fix or take up a peg. But when we compare this figure with others which do undoubtedly represent this motive, we find a fundamental difference in the whole attitude. The 'vorsichtig balancierender Schritt' which Jüthner himself notices is surely not necessary for putting down or pulling up a mark, and the straightness of the extended left leg would render such an operation quite difficult.[78] Perhaps we may see the swing forward in a more advanced state, the diskos being now in front

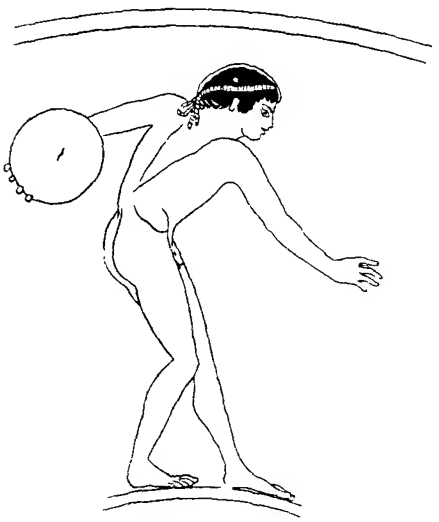

Fig. 14.—R.-F. Kylix. Munich 795.

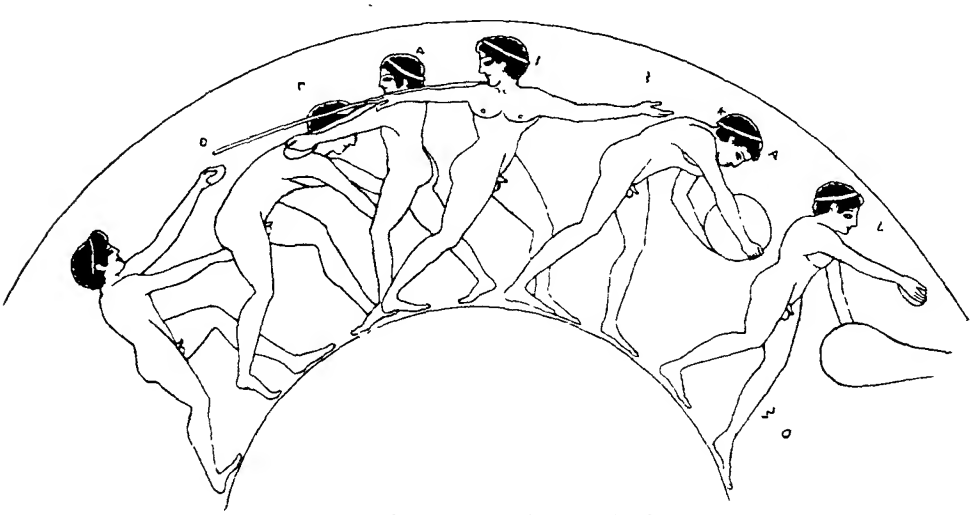

Fig. 15.—R.-F. Kylix (From Gerhard *A.V.*)

of the body, on a vase figured by Tischbein iv. 42 and on the B.M. kylix E 58,[79] but neither attitude is very satisfactory.

The position of the Vatican diskobolos is reproduced, as has been said, in

[78] A very similar type occurs on the r.-f. kylix in Rome, *Mus. Greg.* lxx. 2, a.

[79] *J.H.S.* xxiv. 191, Fig 10.

certain bronzes, but does not, so far as I know, occur on the vases. The latter, however, suggest alternative methods of starting the swing. One of these, where the diskos is held shoulder high in the left hand and then raised above the head in both hands, has been already described. Another method is suggested by vases which show a diskobolos holding the diskos in both hands, but low down and with the arms bent close in to the body[80] (Pl. II.). From this position it could be swung up in both hands to a level with the head. In this type the left leg is already advanced. The actual swing is perhaps depicted on the r.-f. kylix published in Gerhard *A.V.* 294 (Fig. 15), but it is possible that the position here represented forms part of the

FIG. 16.—(From interior of Fig. 14.)

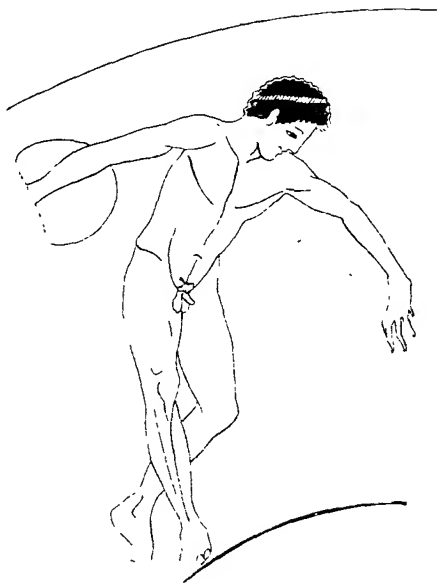

FIG. 17.—R.-F. KYLIX.
(After Hartwig, Pl. LXIII. 2.)

first method described, coming between the moments represented in Figs. 14 and 16, and that in the other cases we have merely an athlete carrying a diskos.

(*b*) *The backward swing.*

At the end of the swing forward, the diskobolos holds the diskos extended to the front horizontally in both hands, the body upright or inclined backwards, the weight chiefly on the back foot. If the right foot is in front, no further change of foot is necessary; if the left is in front, either the left foot must be drawn back or the right foot advanced. The latter method does not explain the position with the diskos

[80] R.-f. kylix in Louvre, figured by Pottier, *Duris*, Fig. 6; Gozzadini *di un ant. Necrop.* viii. 1; *Mus. Greg.* lii. 1, a; *B.M. Vases*, B 576.

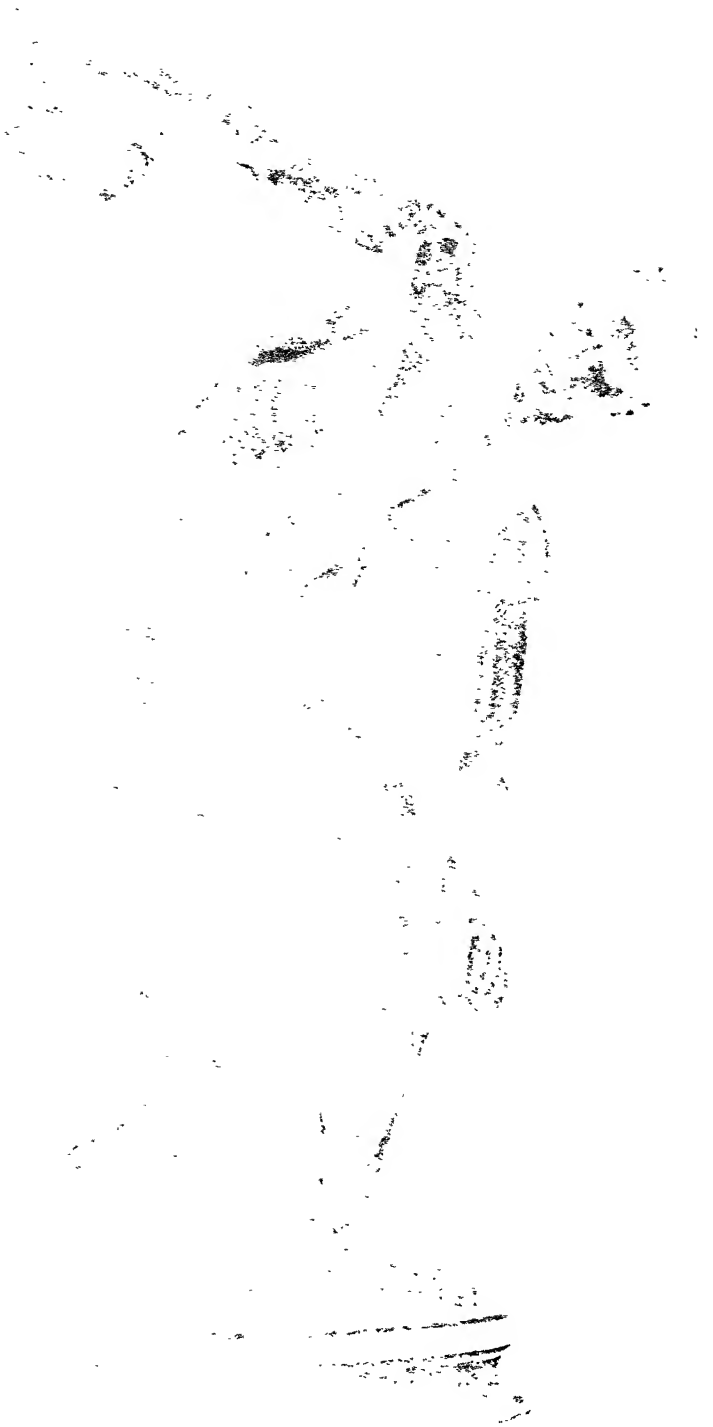

FIG. 18.—MYRON'S DISKOBOLOS. (Rome, Palazzo Lancelotti.)
(By permission of Messrs. Mathuen and Co.)

in the right hand and the left foot forward; and though there is some evidence for it, most of the monuments are in favour of the drawing back of the left foot. The variations in the swing backward have already been discussed. The diskos is held flat in the hand until it passes the body; at this point the head and body commence to turn to the right, till at the conclusion of the swing the position of Myron's diskobolos is reached. The moment previous is well illustrated (Fig. 17 cf. below, p. 36) on a r.-f. kylix figured by Hartwig. It is difficult to say for certain whether the moment depicted is just before the top of the backward swing, or is the beginning of the forward swing. But though the position of the feet certainly favours the latter hypothesis,[81] the forward inclination of the body and the evident care with which the youth is balancing himself seem to me conclusive for the former view, which is further confirmed by comparison with vases which undoubtedly represent the forward swing.

(c) *The top of the backward swing. Coins of Cos.*

An interesting variation of the top of the swing is represented on a number of coins of Cos belonging to the early part of the fifth century. It has been the fashion to connect this type with a totally different position depicted on a Panathenaic amphora to be discussed later, and to place the moment represented immediately before or after the top of the swing. A few experiments would convince anyone that no one but a contortionist could pass from this position to that of Myron's statue, or *vice versâ*, and that such a movement would be fatal to any success. The position of the right hand, with the diskos turned to the front, excludes the theory of Chryssaphis that we have here the beginning of the backward swing. Three points deserve attention: the bend of the leg, the position of the right hand, and the position of the left arm. When we examine a series of these coins we are led at once to the conclusion that the attitude of the body is largely due to the shape of the coin space. This will be obvious from the series published below from the British Museum (Fig. 19). The way in which the body is bent over to the right is manifestly impossible. In Myron's diskobolos the body turns round the hips, but its inclination is forward; here the turn is hardly indicated, and the body is bent to the right. The explanation is, I believe, purely artistic. The maker of the coin die wished to represent a diskobolos at the top of the swing from the front. The difficulty of such a task can be best realised by a glance at Myron's statue from this position. To the artist of the early fifth century the difficulty was insuperable. The amount of foreshortening required to represent the forward bend of the body was far beyond him, and even if it had not been, the success of the result on a coin would have been more than doubtful. Moreover, the circular space had to be appropriately filled. He adopted therefore the obvious expedient of bending the body to the right instead of forward. I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Hill for an admirable illustration of the same process. In various cultus statues the arms were by the

[81] The position of the right foot may be due to a dislike of foreshortening.

side, bent at right angles, with the forearms extended to the front: on coins representing them the forearms are extended not to the front, but to the right and left.[52] Another illustration is afforded by the manner in which the heads of the horses are turned right and left in a quadriga represented from the front.[53] This view is confirmed by the variations which occur on the coins themselves. The more the body is bent sideways, the more it is elongated, while in the more upright figures there is a decided attempt at foreshortening. To the same cause may be due the position of the front foot. The foot is sometimes foreshortened in vase paintings, but the result is often by no means

FIG. 19.—SERIES OF COINS OF COS IN B.M. (Enlarged.)

happy, and the coin maker therefore avoids the difficulty by extending the foot in such a way that the diskobolos appears to be standing on tip-toe.

Coming to the arms and hands, we may remark first that the bending of the right arm noticeable on certain of the coins is clearly due to considerations of space. The position of the diskos, again, may be due to the fact

[52] *E.g.* Artemis of Ephesus, *B.M.C. Ionia* xiii. 1, 2, 7, 8, 12; Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, *ib.* xix. 4, 5, 67.

[53] Gerh. *A.V.* 105.

that if represented parallel to the body it would appear from the front merely as a thin line, which on so small an object as a coin would be unrecognisable. It may, however, also be due to a difference in the style of throwing. We have seen that the left hand is sometimes raised above the head in the swing back, and we shall find it still raised in the swing forward as represented in Fig. 21. It is only natural then that it should be raised in the intermediate position. Now a supple, youthful athlete would be always liable to exaggerate the swing, just as the youthful golfer does. In such an exaggerated style the right hand would be raised higher than in Myron's statue, and as it reached the perpendicular would naturally turn outwards so that the diskos would face to the front, while the tendency would be to keep the left hand raised in order to balance the body. I am not saying that such a swing is as effective as that represented by Myron. The artist of the coin was not depicting an ideal, but working from his own experience of what may have been a local fashion. My point is that such an exaggerated style is natural, and my point will be conceded by any one familiar with the differences exhibited by golfers at the top of the swing. Compare, for example, the position of the young St. Andrews player with that of Vardon or Taylor. My conclusion then is that the Coan coins represent a variation of the same moment as that of Myron's statue, modified by the shape of the coin space and the limitations of the artist.

(*d*) *The throw.*

'The diskobolos,' says Lucian, speaking of Myron's statue, 'seems as if he would straighten himself up at the throw.'[84] At the beginning of the swing forward the extensor muscles come into play, and by a vigorous lift from the right thigh the whole body is raised and straightened. This momentary but most important movement is finely represented on two vases, a Panathenaic vase in Naples and a b.-f. hydria in the British Museum (Figs 20 and 21). The attitude depicted is, as far as I know, unique in Greek athletic art, which prefers positions of comparative rest and equilibrium. But here we have a sort of snapshot, an impressionist picture of a momentary position which cannot possibly be maintained. On the Panathenaic vase especially, the thrower seems to be flying from the ground in a way which recalls the figures of Winged Victory so strongly as to suggest the idea that the attitude is borrowed from this type. The position of body, legs, and arms is identical: substitute the victor's wreath for the diskos, and add the wings, and we have the Winged Victory so often represented on athletic vases; and it is certainly appropriate that the artist should borrow from and suggest the figure of victory on a vase

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[84] *Philopseud.* 18. Μῶν τὸν δισκεύοντα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φῆς τὸν ἐπικεκυφότα κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἀφέσεως, ἀπεστραμμένον εἰς τὴν δισκοφόρον. ἠρέμα ὀκλάζοντα τῷ ἑτέρῳ, ἐοικότα συναναστησομένῳ μετὰ τῆς βολῆς;

intended for the prize of victory. The position of the head and right arm lead is similar to that depicted on the coins of Cos. But whereas on the coins the body is bent sideways and the right leg is upright, on the

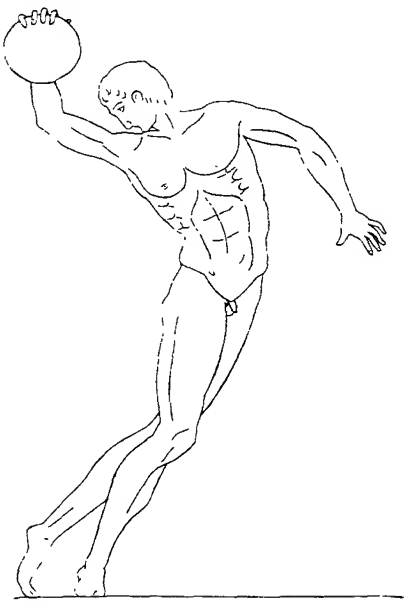

FIG. 20.—PANATHENAIC VASE. NAPLES. (After *Bull. Nap.*)

vase the whole figure forms a curve from head to toe, and is overbalanced. On the British Museum hydria the curve is not quite as marked, and

FIG. 21.—R.-F. HYDRIA. B.M. E 164. (After *B.C.H.* 1899.)

the moment shown is slightly later; the two vases illustrate also the two different positions of the left arm which have already been noticed.

A curious variation occurs in an early Athenian lekythos from the Pozzi Collection,[85] to which Mr. G. F. Hill has called my attention (Fig. 22). The general position closely resembles that which we have been discussing, but the diskos instead of lying along the forearm is turned upwards so as to rest between the fingers and thumb.[86] The vase painter frequently makes mistakes in drawing hands, and such a mistake is the only possible explanation of our present figure.

Jüthner, identifying the type of the Naples amphora with that of the coins, considers them to represent a distinct method of throwing the diskos, which he calls the Kreis-schwung.[87] He supposes the diskobolos to whirl his arm round from the front, right over his head, and he supports his theory by a variety of poetical quotations. Epeius hurls the solos *δινήσας*, Odysseus the diskos *περιστρέψας*; in Pindar Nikeus hurls the stone *χέρα κυκλώσαις*. Even Propertius and Statius are called to witness. It is hardly necessary to point out the obvious appropriateness of these expressions to the ordinary method of throwing the diskos or any other object.

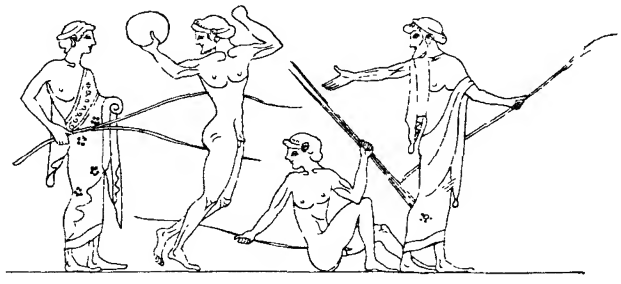

FIG. 22.—ATHENIAN LEKYTHOS. BOULOGNE. (From *Le Musée*.)

To argue that they denote a complete revolution of the arm is the quintessence of pedantry, inexcusable even if the expressions occurred in prose; and it is indeed surprising that Jüthner, whose useful work is generally distinguished by great soundness of judgment, should have allowed himself to be misled by a passage or two of the scholiasts into so unpractical a theory. A light object, easily grasped, might be thrown a certain distance in this way; certainly not a heavy, slippery object like the diskos, much less the ponderous Homeric solos. It is unnecessary to labour the point, especially as the position which we are discussing forms the natural sequel to that of Myron's diskobolos.

I have compared the position to that of the Winged Victory; but the diskobolos has no wings, and unless he recovers his equilibrium by advancing one foot, he must fall forward on the ground. The modern thrower 'in the Hellenic style' does contrive to rid himself of the diskos in this attitude, but the throw inevitably suffers; and there is absolutely no evidence that

[85] *Le Musée*, Vol. iii, p. 178, Fig. 12. [86] Cp. Figs. 11. 12. [87] *Op. cit.* p. 32.

the ancient diskobolos had to throw off the right foot. Indeed, the evidence of literature and art is conclusive for the throw off the left foot, the only rational method of throwing. 'The left foot' says Philostratus, 'must be swung to the front with the right arm,'[88] and his words are confirmed by the less definite language of Lucian and Statius, and by the vases. A r.-f. kylix at Boulogne[89] (Fig. 23) shows the early part of

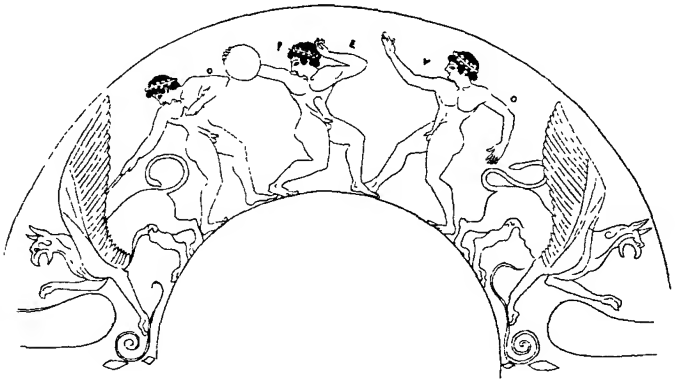

FIG. 23.—R.-F. KYLIX. BOULOGNE.

the movement. And the actual throw is vividly portrayed on a b.-f. hydria in Vienna[90] (Fig. 24). On both vases the diskobolos strides vigorously forward with his left leg. Elsewhere the motive is more or less obscured, but Six appears to be right in thus explaining the figure of the diskobolos on the Leyden Panathenaic amphora, though the grotesque exaggeration of this vase discredits its evidence.[91] The diskobolos, the jumper, and the spear thrower all appear to be running, an action perhaps introduced by the artist to give more life to the convention of the processional type. If we make allowance for this, we find the movements represented are really typical of their respective performances. Possibly we may assign to the same motive the diskobolos on a r.-f. kylix of Corneto, published in the *Mon. d. I.* XI. Pl. 24 and also a wall painting reproduced in *Mus. Chius.* Pl. cxxvi. In both these cases the bending of the right arm suggests some doubt as to the action, but this may be a modification due to space limitation, such as we have noticed in the representation of Myron's diskobolos on gems or on the coins of Cos. Of another wall painting, figured in *Mus. Borbonico*, ix. 52, there can be no doubt. Perhaps a still later moment, just before the diskos quits the right hand, is

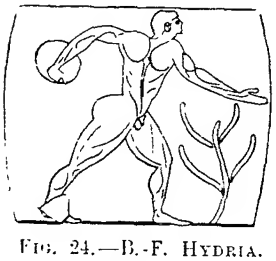

FIG. 24.—B.-F. HYDRIA. VIENNA.

[88] V. supra, p. 9.
[89] *Le Musée*, Vol. iii. Fig. 32.
[90] Masnet *Mus. für Kunst und Industrie, Wien*, 318.
[91] *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Pl. ix.

represented in an exceedingly quaint terracotta found at Smyrna and exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1888.[92] The exaggerated emaciation of the body and contorted attitude are typical of this class of grotesque. The position is evidently influenced by Myron's statue, but the left foot is advanced and the diskos has already swung to the front.

The so-called bronze diskoboloi of Naples are said to represent the moment after the throw, but this interpretation seems to me impossible, in view of the position of the arms and the alertness and expectancy expressed both by the figures and the heads, and I have no doubt that they are really wrestlers. Moreover, as the diskos leaves the hand the right foot must be again advanced to prevent the thrower from falling forward, and in the bronzes the left foot is advanced. Of this final movement of the follow through we have perhaps a representation in the right-hand athlete in Fig. 23, but as the diskos has already left the hand, it is impossible with certainty to identify the position. Whether in this movement the thrower was allowed to overstep the balbis or not, we cannot say.

In palaestra scenes we often see youths carrying a diskos whose position, whether at rest or in motion, has clearly nothing to do with the actual throw; similar types occur also in the bronzes. Some of these have been alluded to, and it would be useless to deal with them in detail. A word, however, may be said as to certain gems, though the evidence of this class of monument has little independent value. The numerous representatives of Myron's statue[93] have been already mentioned. Perhaps the influence of this statue may be traced on a Berlin paste No. 4561,[94] where the diskobolos is apparently on the point of throwing the diskos, which is swinging down in the right hand, still behind the body, while the left arm is swung forward; the body and head are thrown backward, and the right foot is vigorously advanced. Furtwängler describes him as 'im Anlauf begriffen,' and compares him to the diskobolos on the Leyden amphora. The evidence for a preliminary run is non-existent, and I prefer to assign the position of the right leg to the influence of Myron. Another Berlin gem shows a somewhat similar position of the arms, with the left foot in advance. This gem is interesting from the fact that a flaw in the stone was long interpreted as an elevation, or mound, representing the bater or balbis, regardless of the fact that it cut off the thrower's left foot. Fortunately we have a duplicate in which the flaw is wanting.[95] The duplicate has also a peculiarity, in that the diskobolos holds in his left hand a cord, a peculiarity repeated on the B.M. gem 1816. The cord is possibly a boxing thong, but why it should be inserted has not been explained. The close connection between the spear and the diskos renders it more likely that it represents the spear-thrower's ἀγκύλη or amentum. It is curious that such a piece of evidence should have escaped the notice of the advocates of the hole and string theory of the diskos or solos!

[92] Branteghem Coll. 223.

[93] Furtwängler *op. cit.* xliv. 26. 27; lxvi. 8: *B.M. Gems*, 742.

[94] *ib.* xliv. 25.

[95] *ib.* xliv. 28 (= Krause xiii. c. 54 b). 30.

A summary of our conclusions may be useful.

1. The stance.

a. position of standing diskobolos. Fig. 13.

or *b.* diskos raised in left hand level with the shoulder. Fig. 12.

or *c.* diskos held in both hands level with waist. Pl. II., Fig. 15.

From these positions, with or without a change of foot, the diskos is swung or raised to

2. Position with left foot forward (usually) and diskos in both hands.

a. extended horizontally to the front. Figs. 3, 4, etc.

b. raised above the head. Fig. 11.

3. The diskos is swung downwards, resting on the right forearm. Either before or in the course of the swing

a. the left foot is drawn back. Fig. 5.

or *b.* the right foot is advanced (Pl. III.) so that we reach

4. The position of Myron's diskobolos. Fig. 18.

5. At the beginning of the swing forward the body is straightened. Figs. 20, 21.

6. And as the diskos swings down, the left foot is vigorously advanced. Figs. 22, 23.

7. Finally, after the diskos has left the hand, the right foot is again advanced. Fig. 23.

I am again indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith for leave to publish objects in the British Museum. To Messrs. J. L. Myres, R. C. Bosanquet, G. F. Hill, H. B. Walters, and Dr. Zahn my obligations are many. The excellent illustration of Myron's Diskobolos is reproduced by kind permission of Messrs. Methuen from Mr. Walters's recently published 'Greek Art.' Mr. G. S. Robertson has kindly given me the benefit of his experience both as diskobolos and as Hellanodikes in the revived Olympic games, and it was a great satisfaction to me to find that the conclusions which I had arrived at independently from the study of the evidence agreed with those to which he had been led by practice.

The extremely interesting fragment of a Würzburg alabastron on Pl. III. is from a photograph obtained for me by Mr. Bosanquet from Dr. Wolters, which arrived too late for notice in its proper place. The artist has depicted a back view of the position shown in Fig. 17. The legs unfortunately are missing, the light patch visible below the arm being merely a stain on the background. The drawing does not affect any of the views put forward above, but no excuse is needed for the insertion of so original a fragment.

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

THE PERSIAN FRIENDS OF HERODOTUS.

FROM what sources did Herodotus draw the materials for his history? At what date or dates did he compose it? These inquiries have an endless fascination for the student of Herodotus, which is not lessened by the fact that they admit of no certain answer. The combinations which will be suggested in this paper have, so far as I know, not been suggested before; but if, as is extremely likely, they have already been made, there is always a certain interest in the fact that two inquirers, working independently, have come to the same conclusions.

It is not necessary to give evidence of the fact that Herodotus himself was highly satisfied with his own sources of information as to Persian history, and that he considered he could speak with authority upon it. (Cf. *e.g.* i. 95.) Nor is it necessary to give evidence for the view that Herodotus had on some points official or semi-official Persian information: *e.g.* in his account of the satrapies in Bk. III., of the Royal Road in Bk. V., and of the Persian army in Bk. VII.

These two points will be assumed, and also that Herodotus is a trustworthy witness, that he reports truly what he has heard, without exaggeration or suppression, and that he had some idea of the differing value of various witnesses. The problem then is to find a Persian source from which Herodotus could derive:

(1) Information that seemed to him trustworthy as to the rise of the Achaemenid house, and its establishment on the throne.

(2) Official details as to the resources and organization of the Persian Empire in the fifth century.

(3) Definite information as to the inner court circle of Susa. The story, *e.g.* as to Amestris and the wife of Masistes (ix. 108 *sq.*) is told by Herodotus with as much fulness of detail and with as complete a confidence, as the story of the Philaidae in the Chersonese or that of Alexander of Macedon.

It is not suggested that these stories and others like them are to be accepted by us as accurate, but only that Herodotus considered he had full grounds for relating in detail events and motives which would be unknown to ordinary informants, outside of court circles.

Now it can hardly be supposed that Herodotus, when himself in the East, ever penetrated into the government offices, much less up the back-stairs of the court. Even apart from his ignorance of all languages but Greek, he

was only in the position of an ordinary traveller, seeing the wonders of the great king's realm on sufferance. No Persian grandee, still less one of the intimate court circle, would have unbosomed himself confidentially to an obscure Greek, travelling in the company of merchants, and not improbably engaged in business on his own account.

It may be maintained that Herodotus' informants were his own countrymen, who were either treading as exiles the antechambers of Susa or engaged there professionally, as was Democedes, or Apollonides (Ctesias, 29, 42),[1] the immoral physician from Cos. This seems, however, less likely, having regard to two points :

(1) The accuracy of Herodotus' information as to Persian names, and the fulness of his details on many matters which would be quite outside of the sphere of interest of an ordinary Greek. The information we get from Ctesias, the Greek court physician of the next generation, does not give us a high idea of the sources of information open to, or of the accuracy of, the Greek hangers-on of the Great King.

(2) Herodotus' own tone is always that of one who speaks with authority, and who considers he has sure sources of information. Of course this second argument will be worthless to those who look on Herodotus as an inquirer prepared to accept any information, and prepared also to maintain it was the best information, simply because he had it.

The assumption that Herodotus had real and special sources of information as to Persian affairs, and the still more probable assumption that he did not find these when himself in the East, lead us to the conclusion that Herodotus must have met nearer home persons qualified to give him accurate and detailed information on Oriental matters, under circumstances which permitted him to question them carefully: such a source of information it is usually supposed that he found in Demaratus (cf. Matzat, *Hermes* vi. p. 479 *seq.*, and others), who may well have furnished Herodotus with many of his details as to Xerxes' invasion. The object of this paper is to suggest another and even more important source for his inner history of the Persian Court.

The passage in Herodotus is of considerable importance ; he ends Bk. III. (*c.* 160) with the words 'the son of this Megabyzus was Zopyrus, who went over to Athens as a deserter from the Persians.'

The date of this desertion, and its significance will be considered later ; first it is necessary to emphasize the fact that Zopyrus, if Herodotus really met him, is exactly the informant who satisfies the conditions of our inquiry, for he was one who was certainly able to give Herodotus the information desired, and one moreover who was likely to give it just in the form in which Herodotus reproduces it.

[1] The references to Ctesias are given to C. Muller's edition, published with the history of Herodotus (Paris, F. Didot, 1844). This seems the edition most generally used, but it is very inaccessible ; valueless as the works of Ctesias are, a critical edition in a cheap and handy form would be of great convenience to students of Graeco-Oriental history.

The reasons for holding this are obvious:

(1) Zopyrus belonged to the inner circle of the Persian Court. He was the grandson of Amestris, the terrible wife of Xerxes, and the nephew of that monarch. Hence he would have known intimately the whole dark history of court intrigues, and his story as told us by Ctesias (especially 29, 42—3) corresponds exactly to the picture of cruelty and lust on which Herodotus just lifts the curtain.

(2) He was the son of Megabyzus, one of Xerxes' six generals in chief against Greece (vii. 82—121). Hence he was in a position to know the full details of the Persian army list, which Herodotus gives us at such length in Bk. VII. Moreover this connexion would give him the detailed knowledge of the stages of the Royal Road which Herodotus reproduces from some Persian source in Bk. V. (cc. 52—3).

It may be added that the arrogant suggestion of an attack on Susa, which accompanies the account of the Royal Road (v. 49), is quite in keeping with the character of a Persian prince whose Hellenic sympathies have led him to desert his country. It is of course quite out of place in the mouth of the Ionian Aristagoras, who wanted only defence against the Great King.

(3) His grandfather had been governor of Babylon, and of the resources of this satrapy Herodotus had especially full information (i. 192, iii. 92); it must be added, however, that Herodotus gives these as they were under the satraps that succeeded Zopyrus.

It will be seen then that Zopyrus had special facilities for giving official information on two of the points (*i.e.* the Army and the Royal Road) where Herodotus preserves it, and that on the third point, the organization of the Empire, he had also some special qualifications for giving information, though not to so marked an extent as in the two previous cases. When we turn from Herodotus' information as to the present resources of Persia to his accounts of its past history, Zopyrus again fits in with the requirements of our inquiry. Herodotus of course had far too much information as to Persian history to have derived it exclusively from any one source. But on two important episodes at least Zopyrus was a particularly qualified witness.

(1) Herodotus' account of the conspiracy against the Pseudo-Smerdis is in marked contrast to that of Ctesias in the accuracy of its names, and (perhaps it may be added) in the general correctness of its outline.

Now the grandfather and the namesake of the deserting Zopyrus had been one of the Seven Conspirators, and the story of that crisis in Persian history must have been a tradition in his family, and Herodotus may well have heard it from him. This supposition throws considerable light on one of the most disputed passages in Herodotus. If we assume that the historian obtained from Zopyrus the famous account of the debate of the Seven as to possible forms of government, we have at once an explanation of the curious and surprising insistency with which the historian maintains the accuracy of his version (iii. 80, vi. 43), and also of its very un-Oriental character. Modern critics rightly agree with the sceptics of Herodotus' own day in doubting the authenticity of the speeches said then to have been delivered. Full of

interest as these speeches are, they are interesting as giving us Greek political ideas of the fifth century, and not as reproducing the sentiments of Persian grandees of the sixth century. But the colouring is not that of Herodotus himself: it is clearly derived from some informant, whom he considers of special value. If we attribute the whole version to an occidentalized Persian, who was yet the grandson of one of the conspirators, we have a full and sufficient explanation at once of Herodotus' mistaken confidence and of the curiously misplaced colouring which has offended critics from Herodotus' own day to our own.[2]

Again if we suppose that Zopyrus was Herodotus' informant as to the conspiracy, we get a reasonable explanation of the serious blunder with which Herodotus concludes his story. The historian is ignorant of the real claim of Darius to the throne, and makes his winning it the result of a trick (iii. 84). This perversion is exactly what we should expect from a Persian whose father and himself had alike suffered at the hands of the Achaemenid family. If anything is clear as to the inner history of Persia at this time, it is that certain noble houses resented the predominance of one royal family, and that Megabyzus was conspicuous for this independence. I must return to this point later, but we may notice the same colouring in the remark with which Herodotus introduces his story of Cyrus: 'Following the report of some of the Persians, those I mean who do not desire to glorify the history of Cyrus, but to speak that which is in fact true' (i. 95). The story that follows corresponds to this introduction: Herodotus ignores the royal descent of Cyrus from Achaemenes, although in Bk. VII. 11 he has rightly recorded the names of the Achaemenid family. Herodotus' informant knew the facts as to Darius' accession, but did not choose to draw the attention of the Greek historian to them.

The other episode of Persian history which here especially concerns us is the story of the second capture of Babylon in Bk. III (cc. 153 *seq.*). It will be obvious to anyone that this account as a whole might well have been derived from the grandson of the man who is the hero of the story, and there are certain points in it which look like a special family tradition, *e.g.* the details as to the mule prodigy in c. 153, and as to the special honours to Zopyrus in c. 160—'no one of the Persians surpassed him (*i.e.* Zopyrus) in good service, either of those who came after or of those who had gone before, excepting Cyrus alone.'

Of the historic value of the story, I shall speak at the end of this paper. So far I have tried to show that Zopyrus the deserter is exactly the informant

[2] I submit that this explanation of the well known difficulty as to these speeches is far more satisfactory than the view that sees in them an instance of the composite character of Herodotus' work. Maass, *e.g.* (*Hermes* xxii 581 *seq.*), on the strength of a supposed parallel in Isocrates, argues that the historian has here introduced some of the 'negative arguments' (καταβάλλοντες λόγοι) of his contemporary Protagoras. His theory has not a scrap of evidence in its favour, and E. Meyer (*Forsch.* i. 201-2) well says 'Maass makes Herodotus a simpleton, if he imagines that he could impose on the public as historical facts inventions of his good friend Protagoras.' Moreover the theory ignores Herodotus' insistence on his own veracity, which is surely a most important point.

from whom Herodotus might have derived important passages in his work, and that certain features in the narrative are more easily explained, if we suppose he did so derive them, than on any other supposition.

There is one more passage in Herodotus which may well have come from Zopyrus, *i.e.* the account of the unsuccessful attempt of the Persian Sataspes to circumnavigate Africa (iv. 43). This account presents just the same features as some of those which have been already considered, *i.e.* there is an intimate knowledge of the relationships of the inner court circle of Susa, and of the cruelty and lust which prevailed there. The offence of Sataspes was committed against the daughter of Zopyrus the deserter, and may well have been one of the causes which inflamed his hatred and jealousy of the Achaemenidae. Some suggest, however, that Herodotus' source here is revealed in his concluding words: he describes how the servant of Sataspes after his master's death escaped to Samos, and there was robbed by a Samian whose name Herodotus knew, though he considerately suppresses it. This part of the story must have been heard by Herodotus in Samos, but it is not unlikely that he adds it as confirming from an independent Samian source what he had himself learned from one who was in the most intimate way concerned in the story.

But it is now necessary to consider if Herodotus was likely to have met the younger Zopyrus or indeed could have met him.

To answer this question we must consider the date of the Persian's desertion. All our information as to this is derived from Ctesias (29. 33–43). Now that author seems, speaking generally, about the most untrustworthy of our ancient authorities, and in his account of the events that now concern us, he is clearly wrong on some points, *e.g.* he contradicts Thucydides as to the name of the place where Inarus and the Greeks in Egypt offered their last resistance to the Persians: he calls it Byblus (29. 34). Thuc. (i. 109) calls it Prosopitis.

But it is obvious that Ctesias had means of knowing the inner history of the Persian court, however badly he used those means at times; he was physician there in the generation after the events he is describing; and, as he had this department of his subject mainly to himself, he was not liable to be misled in his details as to court-scandals by the burning desire to contradict Herodotus which was so misleading to him in his account of more important events. And his narrative as to Megabyzus and Zopyrus is consistent in its main outlines with what we know elsewhere, and is confirmed in one important point by an undesigned coincidence with Herodotus. Ctesias makes Megabyzus die at the age of 76 (29. 41); this advanced age agrees with Herodotus' account of that veteran, and especially with the detail (iv. 43) that he had a granddaughter of marriageable age before 465 B.C.

Assuming then, as is generally done, that Ctesias may be depended on for these personal details, we have the following data for determining the chronology of the family of Zopyrus. Megabyzus reduced Egypt, and received the submission on terms of Inarus and the Greeks in 454, probably early in the summer of that year (so Busolt, iii. p. 330). The vengeance of

Amestris was delayed for five years, but in the end the safe conduct was violated, Inarus was impaled and the Greek prisoners were executed. This must have happened then about 450. Megabyzus, angry at the violation of the terms arranged by him, proceeded to revolt in his satrapy of Syria, and fought two campaigns against his royal master. It may well be that the renewed attack of the Greeks on Cyprus under Cimon (spring of 449) was connected with this civil war in the Persian Empire, and that the reconciliation of the rebel satrap with Artaxerxes, which followed in the year 448, was a part of the same negotiations which led to the agreement (whether definitely concluded or simply tacitly understood) loosely called the 'Peace of Callias,' or the 'Peace of Cimon.'

It is surely permissible to conjecture that the Greek victories had their natural effect at the Persian court and led to division of opinion there; one section of its grandees would urge that Persian policy should be modified, and that the victorious Occidentals should be conciliated: another section would be confirmed by disaster in the old national traditions. If such a division took place, Megabyzus was clearly the head of the Hellenizing party in Persia: this is seen in his conciliatory attitude in Egypt, and agrees with the story of Ctesias (in itself improbable) that he had declined to attack Delphi when ordered by Xerxes (29. 27). The *de facto* suspension of hostilities between Athens and the Great King marked the triumph of the policy of Megabyzus; but so far as he personally was concerned, the Great King was not disposed to overlook his independent spirit, and the too successful general, having once more offended Artaxerxes, by interference in his hunting, was banished for five years (29. 40–41). This banishment may be conjectured to have taken place before the end of 448, in which case the final restoration of Megabyzus to favour would fall about 443.

Ctesias gives no hint how soon his death followed, but goes on to tell of the misconduct of his widow Amytis and her lingering illness and death. We can only guess at the length of time required for these events, which were immediately followed by the desertion of Zopyrus, but they can easily be fitted into three years, and the desertion of Zopyrus will then fall in 440. This year is probable in itself, for it is obvious from Thucydides' (i. 115) account of the Samian revolt that the war party at the Persian court had the upper hand in that year. That there was a connexion between the desertion of Zopyrus and the general relations of Athens and Persia is not generally recognized; but it is probable in itself, and it is confirmed by the parallel events of the next generation, when, if we may trust Andocides (*de Pace* 29; cf. Busolt, III. 1354, 1417), hostilities with the Great King were precipitated by the Athenian alliance with the rebel Amorges in Caria (cf. Th. viii. 5). Perhaps the relation may be one of cause, and not of effect as has been suggested above, and the desertion of Zopyrus may have led to the intrigues of Pissuthnes (Th. i. 115) against Athens, not been caused by them. In this case we should have to antedate the desertion by a year, *i.e.* place it about 441. The point cannot be settled, but either date, 441 or 440, can be fitted in with the narrative of Ctesias.

The sequel of that narrative confirms materially the political importance which has been assigned above to the conduct of Zopyrus. He went, we are told (Ctes. 29. 43), with the Athenians against Caunus in Caria, and there met his death when endeavouring to negociate the surrender of that town to the Athenians. This expedition most probably was connected with the troubles caused by the Samian revolt; Pericles (i. 116) himself made a demonstration in the direction of Caunus in 440, and we know from the tribute lists that there was something like a general revolt in the 'Carian quarter' of the Athenian Empire at this period (Busolt, iii. 554). So far as concerns Zopyrus and Caunus, we know (if we may trust Ctesias) that Caunus remained for a short time under the authority of the Great King, for Amestris was able to impale the unlucky Caunian whose hands had cast the deadly stone against her traitorous grandson. But Caunus was again under Athenian authority in 436 (*I.G.* I. 244), when it figures at the head of the 'Ionian Tribute' payers. Hence the death of Zopyrus must certainly fall before this year. Perhaps we may suggest that the cruelty of Amestris worked for Athens more effectually than the arms of Zopyrus: it was not likely to stimulate loyalty to the Great King, when his subjects were impaled for too successful a resistance to a traitor because that traitor was of royal blood. It seems therefore that we may date the death of Zopyrus with fair confidence at the end of 440 or early in 439. It must come in before the reduction of Samos, and the restitution of the status-quo with Persia. Pericles, then at the height of his influence, was not likely after this to provoke Persia by reckless expeditions against Caria (cf. Busolt, iii. 544–5).

To sum up then this part of the argument. The desertion of Zopyrus was not a mere personal freak: it was the act of a Persian prince whose family had shown Hellenic prejudices before, and was connected with political events of great importance: it probably took place in 441 or 440, and his death followed within a year.

Before discussing the bearing of these dates on the life of Herodotus, I must first refer to two other (and varying) dates which have been assigned for the desertion of Zopyrus. Rawlinson (*ad loc.*) says: 'this is probably the latest event mentioned by Herodotus. It is mentioned by Ctesias almost immediately before the death of Artaxerxes, *and so* belongs most likely to the year 426 or 425.' The 'and so' begs the whole question: there is no causal connexion between what Ctesias says of Zopyrus and what he says of Artaxerxes. And it is most difficult to fit an Athenian expedition against Caria into the years 426 and 425. And moreover had Herodotus known of the death of Zopyrus, he would almost certainly have mentioned it; and it seems that he must have known, had it happened after his return to Athens about 430: this point, however, will be dealt with later.

Kirchhoff refers incidentally to the desertion of Zopyrus in his famous paper 'Die Entstehungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtwerks' (*Abh. d. K. A. der W. Berlin*, 1878, p. 16), and calculates it from the data given by Ctesias, as falling between 445 and 431 (which is obviously true), but much 'nearer the latter date than the former;' this latter statement is, I think I

have shown, quite unproven. Kirchhoff uses the point simply to prove that Herodotus wrote the end of Bk. III. at a later period than the first two and a half books; the desertion, he argues, is one of the events of which Herodotus was not aware when he went to Thurii, and of which he heard on his return to Athens about 432. But Kirchhoff quite fails to consider the connexion of the Zopyrus episode with the general course of events, and he omits also to notice what seems to be by far its more important bearing on the question of the date when Herodotus composed his work.

It is this point omitted by Kirchhoff that must now be considered. Herodotus knows half of the story told by Ctesias, but not the whole of it: he gives us the desertion of Zopyrus, but not his death in the Athenian service. Now this might well be thought to be a far more significant omission than any of the others in Herodotus' history on which Kirchhoff lays such great stress. I cannot think that, if Herodotus had known, when he wrote Book III. 160, the tragic end of Zopyrus' chequered career, he would have omitted to chronicle it. It presents an exact parallel to the story of Sophanes at Plataea (ix. 75) or of the diviner Hegesistratus (ix. 37), in both of which cases Herodotus tells the story of their deaths, though it has no bearing on the context in which he introduces them. Other instances could be given, but these are sufficient.

If, however, we suppose that Herodotus left Athens for the West in 440, it becomes much easier to understand why no record is given of the subsequent story of Zopyrus. Moreover a good and sufficient reason can be suggested why the historian should have started on his travels again just at this time.

If anything can be stated as certain as to the life and interests of Herodotus, it is that he had a close connexion with Samos, and a great affection for that island and its inhabitants. Samos plays a larger part in his history than any other Greek city except Athens and perhaps Sparta, and the historian is invariably a 'little blind to their faults,' and 'very kind to their virtues. Hence it is surely not carrying conjecture far to suppose that Herodotus was deeply grieved to see Athens and Samos at deadly enmity, and his own friend, the poet Sophocles, in command against his former Ionian home. We may therefore date with some confidence Herodotus' departure for Thurii as taking place in 440.

It is true that Strabo (p. 656) says that Herodotus 'took part in the colony to Thurii,' and that Suidas (s.v. Ἡρόδοτος) says he went ἐς τὸ Θούριον ἀποικιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων—'when it was being colonized by the Athenians;' but even if it were necessary to attach great importance to the exact words of these authorities—and in the case of Suidas at any rate, the notice of Herodotus is full of demonstrable inaccuracies—their words are quite consistent with the view that he joined the colony three or four years after it had been sent out. No one would hesitate to count John Harvard among the 'founders of New England,' although he did not sail with the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620.

The connexion of Herodotus and Zopyrus then may be briefly conjectured to be as follows. Zopyrus arriving in Athens in 441 or 440 would naturally

come into contact with one who like himself had been a Persian subject, and who knew far more about things oriental than any other Athenian of his time. We can imagine the historian eagerly drawing from this noble Persian full details as to official arrangements and as to court secrets, which he had failed to obtain when himself on his travels in the East. We need only suppose that they spent some months together at Athens; then Herodotus sailed for the west, to avoid seeing the end of a struggle between two cities, both of which he had reason to love, while Zopyrus again turned his face eastward to meet his death. When Herodotus returned again to Athens, events had taken quite a new turn; and we can well understand why Herodotus never completed his story of Zopyrus, even if we accept the conjecture that he owed to him much important and valuable information.

Before I end this paper, it may be worth while to consider the accuracy of one important section of the information which Herodotus, as we suppose, derived from Zopyrus, *i.e.* the episode of the capture of Babylon which ends Bk. III. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the well known details in Herodotus as to the desperate resistance of Babylon, the hopeless position of Darius, and the self-devotion by which the elder Zopyrus saved his king from a most difficult situation. I propose only to consider the two great criticisms which are brought against Herodotus' narrative:

(1) It is maintained by many that he has completely misunderstood his authorities and that he ascribes to Darius a siege which really was carried out by Xerxes.

(2) The whole story of the self-devotion of Zopyrus is rejected as a fable. These two criticisms must be discussed separately.

The first criticism is practically that urged long ago by Ctesias: he, we are told, related of Megabyzus the story told by Herodotus of the elder Zopyrus. Sayce (*ad loc.*) seems to attach some weight to the evidence of Ctesias; but no one is likely, I think, to be seriously influenced by Ctesias as a witness against Herodotus or by Sayce as a critic of him.

Other historians who ascribe the siege to Xerxes are Nöldeke (doubtfully in *E.B.* xviii. p. 572) and Lehmann (*Woch. für Klass Phil.* 1900, p. 963). The reasons are:—

(1) It is impossible to fit a siege of '20 months' (the duration given by Herodotus iii. 153) into the narrative of the Behistun Inscription.

(2) Lehmann tries to fit in Herodotus' '20 months' with the dates of Babylonian inscriptions of the time of Xerxes. But his attempt, though ingenious, will not convince anyone who does not wish beforehand to be convinced. There are at least two uncertain quantities in his equation. In fact the evidence from the Babylonian inscriptions is actually used by Maspero (*Hist. Anc.* iii. p. 677, n.) on the opposite side to Lehmann, *i.e.* to support Herodotus.

(3) The third argument is that the cruelty of the victor (Herodotus iii. 159) after taking Babylon is more in keeping with the character of Xerxes than with that of Darius.

It will be obvious that of these three arguments only the first is worth

anything. If the Behistun Inscription contradicts Herodotus, no one will maintain his accuracy against it. But does it contradict Herodotus? Lehmann (ut sup.) and E. Meyer (*G. des A.* i. 614) say that it does; Duncker and Maspero (ut sup.) say that it does not. I will quote the words of the inscription. (col. II. par. I.) 'says Darius the King. Then Nidintabelus with the horsemen faithful to him fled to Babylon. Then I went to Babylon. By the grace of Ormazd I both took Babylon and seized that Nidintabelus. Then I slew that Nidintabelus at Babylon.'

So far the narrative goes decidedly against Herodotus. Taken by itself it would seem to imply a speedy capture of the rebel city. But the next paragraph points as decidedly the other way. 'While I was at Babylon, these are the countries which revolted against me: Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Sacia.' Clearly the siege of Babylon was a long business. It is not necessary to accept Herodotus' 'twenty months,' though they may be accurate; but surely it is unreasonable to reject his whole story, and suppose that he committed so gross a blunder, and made such a foolish confusion, as to an important event that happened only some forty years before his birth.

On the whole then the evidence against Herodotus' accuracy on this point seems quite insufficient to outweigh the *a priori* probability that he knew what he was writing about.

With regard to the story of the self-mutilation of Zopyrus, I hope that I shall not be thought unduly credulous when I say that it seems to me, though no doubt exaggerated, to contain a solid basis of truth.

The arguments against it are:—

(1) It is not mentioned in the Behistun Inscription. If it had been ever so true, would it have been mentioned? It was much more creditable to Darius the king to take towns by the 'grace of Ormazd' than by the mutilation of Zopyrus.

(2) But it is urged, no mutilated man could have been set over the province of Babylon. We need not take Herodotus too literally in his details; Zopyrus probably made himself 'noseless' and 'earless' pretty much in the sense in which

'Earless on high stood unabashed Defoe.'

But I have no doubt he gave himself some permanent scars. Who would have been offended by these but the Babylonians, whose feelings Darius was not very likely to spare?

(3) But it will be urged the story is a well-known legend. Sir H. Rawlinson writes: 'The story told by Polyaenus (and Herodotus) is in its minutest features identical with a certain standard oriental tale told by the bards of Persia, India, and Cashmeer.' But all these stories are long subsequent to Herodotus, and may well be as much echoes from his narrative as is that of Livy as to the self-mutilation of Sextus Tarquinius (i. 54).

Polyaenus tells us that Zopyrus was copying the self-devotion of a Sacan Risaces who had tried to destroy in this way the army of Darius. This story

is quite independent of Herodotus, and may be held to confirm his narrative as least as much as to refute it.

For the story in its main outlines it may be urged :—

(1) That apart from Herodotus and Polyaenus, it is told by Frontinus (*Strat.* iii. 3, who puts it in the time of Cyrus) and Justin (i. 10). Ctesias obviously told the same story, though in his violent antagonism to Herodotus he misdated it.

(2) That Zopyrus was made ruler of Babylon is an undoubted fact.

(3) If we can accept the story, it suits its context well. Darius was in a hopeless position, with an impregnable town to capture and an empire falling into greater revolt every day. The self-devotion of Zopyrus had an adequate motive and an adequate result.

The second and easy capture of Babylon by Intaphernes (Beh. Inscrip. iii. 14) is easily explicable. The walls of the town had been breached in all directions, and it was about as indefensible as Liége in Scott's *Quentin Durward*.

I am conscious that in maintaining the accuracy of Herodotus as to the siege of Babylon, I am distracting attention from the main argument of this paper. The two points are only partially connected. It is quite possible to accept the view that Herodotus derived important information from the younger Zopyrus, even if we also feel ourselves compelled to convict Herodotus of undue credulity in accepting the whole of his stories.

The first part of my paper I am conscious consists of a series of hypotheses. In the fragmentary state of our evidence, no other method of inquiry is possible. I hope, however, that some of them may be thought to throw light on a difficult and important subject.

J. WELLS.

THE FLEETS OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

ACCORDING to Polybius, there took part in the battle of Ecnomus 680 quinqueremes and 290,000 men, *i.e.* crews 204,000 and troops 86,000; while in the next year, at the battle of the Hermaean promontory, 550 quinqueremes were engaged. The only figures comparable to these in Roman history, manifest absurdities apart, are those given by Appian for the battle of Naulochus, and perhaps those for Actium. At Naulochus 300 ships of all sizes are said to have been in action on either side, and no doubt Agrippa's fleet, at any rate, did amount to this large number[1]; while at Actium Octavian may have had anything up to 400.[2] But in Octavian's time the population of all Italy may have been 7 to 8 millions[3]; the Mediterranean was almost a Roman lake, and its entire resources went to furnish the fleets for the civil wars. But for the generation next after that of the first Punic war, the population of Roman Italy has been reckoned at only 4 to 4½ millions, that of Carthaginian Africa at perhaps 3 to 4 millions,[3] while the Mediterranean supported several considerable fleets beside those of Carthage and Rome. More than one writer has seen that the numbers given for Ecnomus are impossible[4]; and it seems worth while making an attempt to get at some more reasonable figures for the first Punic war.

As to the materials, if Polybius is to be corrected it must be from Polybius himself, and not from the later writers.[5] Apart from his being a great historian, he is far nearer in time to the original tradition than any one else.

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[1] J. Kromayer 'Die Entwickelung der römischen Flotte,' *Philologus* 1897, who has gone into the figures for the civil wars, accepts 300 for the fleet of Sextus Pompey also. But this seems to me impossible: for Pompey's 3 squadrons at Mylae, totalling 155, are described by Appian as constituting the larger part of his fleet: after losing 30 at Mylae and some at Tauromenium he cannot have had more than 250 at the most at Naulochus, for building between the two battles was out of the question. This would give a total of about 550 ships in action.

[2] J. Kromayer in *Hermes* 34 (1899) p. 1. If Octavian had 400, and Antony 170 (plus 60 Egyptian), over 600 ships were engaged. But the figures for the Actium campaign are very uncertain.

[3] See J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der gr.-röm. Welt*; also *Die Bevölkerung Italiens im Altertum* in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, vol. 3.

[4] The following helps one to realise what such figures mean. On a population of 42 millions, the British Navy has a personnel of 121,983 (including coastguard and marines), and mobilised 319 vessels of all sorts for the manoeuvres of June—July, 1906; while in crew and troops two quinqueremes carried about the same number as one battleship.

[5] Meltzer has stated this (*Gesch. der Karthager*, vol. 2, p. 568, n. 49). But he makes no application of it to the numbers.

Of the rest, Zonaras (Dion Cassius) is confused and gives no figures. The epitomators of Livy, as they often disagree, must be the subject of considerable textual corruption; but even could we restore Livy, he must either agree with Polybius or be of less authority. There remains Diodorus. It seems agreed that, while Polybius is partly Fabius, partly Philinus, and partly neither, Diodorus is certainly largely Philinus, *i.e.* that he often gives what is substantially the Carthaginian version. Now I regard it as certain that Philinus would tend to exaggerate the Roman numbers, for obvious reasons, just as Fabius would the Carthaginian; Diodorus may therefore be of occasional use as giving a superior limit for Roman figures. I assume that, *other things being equal*, the smaller of two numbers is to be taken.

What, now, was the position when war broke out?

Carthage had finally got the better of Syracuse in their secular duel, and was the greatest sea-power of the west. But it is easy to exaggerate to oneself that power. Meltzer gives an instructive list of prior Carthaginian fleet-numbers: 480 B.C., 200 warships; 406 B.C., 120 triremes; 397 B.C. (war with Dionysius I.), 100 triremes, raised to 200 the next year: 368 B.C. (again against Dionysius), 200 warships; in Timoleon's war, first 150, then 200 warships; in 311 B.C., 130 warships; finally, 130 offered to Rome for help against Pyrrhus. (I omit two small squadrons prior to the fourth century.) These numbers are chiefly from Diodorus, and may not be accurate; but anyhow they shew two things; first, that there was a tradition that in a time of supreme national effort Carthage could raise a fleet of 200 ships; secondly, that it was believed that the ordinary establishment of the Carthaginian fleet prior to the war with Rome was 130 or thereabouts. Whether these two beliefs existed at the time of, or whether they were a consequence of, the first Punic war may for the moment be left undecided.

Rome, of course, had possessed, or had had the control of, warships since the middle of the fourth century B.C., if not earlier.[6] But a distinction must be made, prior to the war with Carthage, between the true Roman fleet (*i.e.* the duumviral squadrons)[7] and the ships which, after the war with Pyrrhus, were liable to be furnished under treaty by the Italiot towns. Duoviri navales were first created in 311 B.C.; in 283 B.C. a squadron of 10 ships under a duovir was attacked by the Tarentines and five ships taken[8]; in 181 B.C.[9] and 178 B.C.[10] we find that the double duumviral squadron consisted, on each occasion, of 20 ships, each duovir commanding 10. We may perhaps assume that the double duumviral squadron was regularly 20 ships. Such a squadron was only fitted out when required, and then laid up again. Polybius says that when Appius Claudius crossed to Messana the Romans

[6] The view that Rome, prior to 260 B.C., used *Greek* ships only, seems again coming into prominence, no doubt as a reaction against Mommsen; see *e.g.* E. Speck, *Handelsgeschichte*, 3, i, § 715. But it is demonstrably wrong. Rome controlled no Greek ships before 327 B.C. (treaty with Neapolis); while the first treaty with Carthage, which cannot be *later* than 348 B.C., presupposes Roman warships.

[7] Not, of course, manned by Romans.

[8] Liv. *Per.* 12; App. *Samn.* 7, 1.

[9] Liv. 40, 26.

[10] Liv. 41, 1.

had not a single ship of their own; no squadron therefore had been fitted out. But probably in the navalia were at least 15 old ships, the remains of the squadron of 283 B.C.[11]

They had, however, afloat a squadron of triremes and pentekontors, furnished under treaty by various Italiot towns,[12] Tarentum, Locri, Elea, Neapolis. These treaty contributions were very small. In 210 B.C. D. Quinctius obtained 12 ships from 'the allies and Rhegium and Velia and Paestum' in full discharge of their obligations (Liv. 26, 39). In 191 B.C. C. Livius got from Naples, Rhegium, Locri and the socii ejusdem juris 25 open ships due under treaty, some being rostratae, some speculatoriae (scouts).[13] The treaty contribution of Carthage herself in 191 B.C. was only six cataphracts (Liv. 36, 4 and 42). Messana, says Cicero, had to supply one ship. The obligation of Rhegium was one ship, that of Locri 2 (Liv. 42, 48). We cannot suppose that the Romans got more than 25 ships from the Italiot towns in 260 B.C.

The Romans, having resolved to contest the sea, built 100 quinqueremes and 20 triremes. The 20 triremes must represent the double duumviral command,[14] the number the Romans had previously been accustomed to build when they wanted a fleet. The 100 quinqueremes are probably correct, seeing that the first measure of the Romans, when war broke out with Antiochus, was to decree 100 quinqueremes,[15] though they were never all built. The Romans must also have refitted any old ships in the navalia, their regular operation at the beginning of a war (*e.g.* Liv. 35, 20; 42, 27). The Roman fleet therefore would consist of 120 ships newly built, some 15 refitted, and some 25 Italiot; possibly also two or three from Massilia[16]; that is to say, about 160 altogether.[17] Obviously, Rome was not going to challenge Carthage with deliberately inferior numbers, though an exaggerated idea of the strength of the Carthaginian navy has led most writers to suppose that she did so; the Carthaginian fleet in 260 B.C. should therefore be somewhat less, and no doubt the number was 130, the number which Polybius gives them at Mylae (possibly taken from Duilius' column), and which agrees with, or else was the cause of, the already noticed belief that

[11] Mommsen thinks the Tarentines had to give up their ships after the war with Pyrrhus; but probably this was not the case, see Niese, *Grundriss d. röm. Gesch.* in Müller's H. d. k. A. III. 5, (1906), p. 70, n. 4, for Tarentum kept its independence and had a number of ships in the second Punic war. Even if they did hand over some ships, the Romans, as was their custom, probably burnt them.

[12] Polyb. 1. 20.

[13] The number appears quite clearly from App. *Syr.* 22 combined with Liv. 36, 42, and is presumably that of Polybius.

[14] I do not mean that they had anything to do with duoviri who are not heard of during the period of the great naval wars.

[15] Liv. 35, 20. In the affairs of Greece and Syria Livy is supposed to represent the substance of Polybius fairly accurately, and for the naval war with Antiochus the way in which Appian agrees with and complements Livy makes this almost certain. If the 100 quinqueremes of 260 B.C. be from Fabius those of 192 B.C. are not.

[16] Two Massiliot ships joined Cn. Scipio in 217 B.C. (Polyb. 3. 95; Liv. 22, 19); and in 211 B.C. four joined the propraetor M. Junius Silanus (Liv. 26, 19).

[17] Naturally I attach no importance to the fact that Florus 1, 18, 7 says the Romans built 160 ships in 260 B.C.

the ordinary establishment of the Carthaginian fleet prior to the war with Rome was about 130.

As regards the opening of the naval campaign, it is clear that in chs. 21 and 22 of book 1, Polybius has combined two different accounts.[18] Both commenced with Boodes capturing 17 Roman ships; ch. 21 then makes Hannibal blunder into the Roman fleet with 50 ships and lose some 30 ('more than half'); but ch. 22 knows nothing of this; here the main Roman fleet, still far off and concerned at Boodes' victory, puts in (? to Messana) and equips itself with the corvus. The account of Mylae that follows, the Carthaginian confidence, the honours paid to Duilius, are all inconsistent with a prior Carthaginian defeat; and the battle of ch. 21 must undoubtedly be, as Dr. Beloch supposes, the Carthaginian version of Mylae taken from Philinus,[19] though Polybius may well be excused for not recognising it. If so, it is some evidence that (as we may, indeed, suspect from Polybius) the whole Carthaginian fleet was not engaged in that battle

The Roman fleet at Mylae, then, was some 140 strong, (about 160 less 17,) against the whole or part of a Carthaginian fleet of 130. The Romans took 30 ships and the hepteres, and sank 19. Their own loss is not given, but must have been less than 19: say 10. If they were able to refit 20 out of the 30 prizes,[20] they were probably about 150 strong the next year.

Hannibal, with the 80 ships left, returned to Carthage, procured reinforcements, (probably Boodes' prizes and a few old ships,) and sailed to Sardinia perhaps 100 strong. Here he lost 'many' ships, but apparently not their crews. As Polybius gives the total Carthaginian loss in the war at about 500, we can see, by adding up the other losses in his figures,[21] that he must have taken the loss in Sardinia at about 60. But it will appear that we

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[18] F. Reuss, *Philologus* 60 (1901) p. 102, who has made the latest examination of Polybius' sources, gives Chs. 20-24 as all from Fabius. But such a result seems to me merely to condemn his method; for the break in the sense of the narrative between Chs. 21 and 22 is patent to anyone

[19] *Gr. Gesch.* vol. 3. i. p. 677 n. 1. If this be so, it is noteworthy that Philinus knows nothing of the boarding-bridge (corvus, κόραξ); and no doubt Ihne was right in suspecting the traditional account of this machine, which is not heard of after Ecnomus, and which seems part of the deliberate introduction by Fabius of an element of wonder into this war: for, after all, boarding and πεζομαχία were the oldest form of sea-fighting known, and the Carthaginians would have been delighted with an arrangement that would have prevented more than two Romans coming aboard at once. Now the Athenians had used grapnels in 413 B.C., and they occur commonly in the second Punic war, and the κόραξ was probably an improved grapnel on a pole, like Agrippa's ἅρπαξ. Dion Cassius so understood it, for Zonaras speaks of the Romans using χεῖρας περικόπτους σιδηρᾶς: and Appian so understood it, for whereas Agrippa's ships at Naulochos use the ἅρπαξ described App. *b. c.* 5, 118), at Mylae these same ships have κόρακας (*b. c.* 5, 106). The supposed boarding-bridge must have been taken by Fabius from the bridge or ladder of the sambuca used by Marcellus in attacking Syracuse, no doubt a real machine, as it appears again (somewhat altered) in the sieges of Rhodes and Cyzicus by Mithradates (App. *Mith.* 26 compared with 73). Some sort of ladder for boarding occurs, however, at the battle of Cumae (App. *b.c.* 5, 82), if this be the meaning of Appian's unique use of καταῤῥάκται.

[20] About the proportion refitted after Ecnomus.

[21] Viz., battle of ch. 21, 30, Mylae 50, Tyndaris 18, Ecnomus about 100 (61 – over 30), Hermaea 114, Aegates Insulae 120; 432 altogether.

require some further loss for Hermaea; and 500 is a very round figure. We may put Hannibal's outside loss in Sardinia at 40; it may have been nearer 20, leaving him some 60 to 80 ships.

These ships encountered the Roman fleet at Tyndaris (257 B.C.). That the Romans were in greatly superior numbers (we have seen it might be about 150) appears from the account of the battle[22]; and the only extant figures[23] are at least evidence of a great disproportion in strength. The Romans lost nine ships, the Carthaginians 18.

The Carthaginians had paid the penalty of despising their enemies. They now set to work in earnest to beat them, as did the Romans to invade Africa; both, says Polybius, made a great effort. The results were Ecnomus (256 B.C.) and Hermaea (255 or 254 B.C.).[24] The figures in Polybius are as follows: Ecnomus, Romans 330, Carthaginians 350; Roman loss 24 sunk, Carthaginian more than 30 sunk, 64 captured. Hermaea, Romans 350 (*i.e.* 330 less 24 sunk plus 44 prizes refitted,[25] the 40 ships left in Africa taking part in the battle), Carthaginians 200, some of which had been built in a hurry (Polyb. 1, 36); the Romans capture 114; no other losses given. On the way home the Romans encounter a storm, and out of the 364 all are lost but 80.

Here are two big discrepancies. If the Romans had 350 ships at Hermaea, then (on Polybius' evident assumption that they had no losses) they should have had 464 ships in the storm, not 364, (*i.e.* 350 + 114 prizes in tow); while the Carthaginians, with 250 left after Ecnomus, need not have built in a hurry to get 200 to sea.

To take the Roman figures first. Supposing Polybius' account of Hermaea to be correct, the figure 364 for the storm (250 + 114) shews, on the assumption of no Roman losses, that the Roman fleet at Hermaea was 250.[26] If so, that at Ecnomus was 230 (230 − 24 sunk + 44 prizes refitted, as before = 250). Is, then, Polybius' account of Hermaea correct?

[22] The consul hurries after the enemy as an easy prey, going forward with 10 ships; they surround him and sink 9, but, pursuing the flagship, become engaged with the main Roman fleet, and lose 8 sunk, 10 taken.

[23] Polyaen. 8, 20: Romans 200, Carth. 80.

[24] The date is fortunately not material here, for either year is open to serious objection. For a summary of the arguments, see Kruse, u. s.; also Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* 3, ii, 234, whose reasons for 254 are hardly convincing. The difficulty is that 255 gives no time for the siege of Clypea and does not explain why the Hermaea triumph fell in 253, while 254 makes the Romans first waste a year before sending their seaborne troops, though the fleet was ready, and then send out the fleet, not under the consuls (as on all other occasions in this war), but under the consuls of 255 (!) as pro-consuls, without any apparent reason, for the very different proconsular squadron-commands of the 2nd Punic war can hardly be cited in support.

[25] Polyb. 1, 29, says they refitted the prizes. If he means all, which is unlikely, then only forty-four were taken, and the lower of the two numbers hereafter discussed for the Carthaginian fleet at Ecnomus becomes even more probable.

[26] The number 350 given for Hermaea does not shew that the storm number should be 464, because, ceteris paribus, the smaller number is to be followed. But as a fact Eutropius, or some scribe, had the curiosity to add up and Eutropius does give 464 for the storm; and Meltzer hereupon suggests that the real Polybian tradition may have been 464, a suggestion which is out of the question for at least three separate reasons; it prefers the easier version and the larger number, and omits a good

It has been criticised on two grounds: one, because Polybius gives 114 Carthaginian ships as captured and none as sunk; the other, because he dismisses in three lines what (on his shewing) was a greater victory than Ecnomus, to which he gives as many chapters. There was, too, another (? Carthaginian) version of this battle, which makes it a stubborn fight (Zonaras), the Carthaginians losing 24 ships (Diodorus): and Ihne was inclined, following Haltaus, to take Polybius' ἑκατὸν δεκατέσσαρας as a corruption of εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας.

Correcting Polybius' account of a Carthaginian loss by Diodorus is hardly convincing work; but in fact there is little doubt that the battle was a great defeat for Carthage. Not only was she impotent at sea for years after, but the consul Aemilius Paullus, who was in command, set up a columna rostrata to celebrate the victory (Liv. 42, 20), and we only hear of one other such column prior to Augustus, that of Duilius. As to the captures, Polybius' phrase ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ ῥᾳδίως τρεψάμενοι shews that the battle was of the Drepana type: the Carthaginian fleet, in part hastily built and manned by crews of whom some must have been inexperienced and the remainder possibly shaken by a great defeat, was surprised or caught at a disadvantage and jammed against the shore, all, or almost all, the ships that could not make the open sea being captured.[27] And Polybius presumably dismisses the battle in three lines just because he *had* given so much space to Ecnomus, for he had to keep his account of the war brief.[28]

The Roman numbers, then, are 230 Ecnomus, 250 Hermaea, 250 + 114 in the storm, of which all were lost but 80.[29] The number 330 for the Roman fleet at Ecnomus no doubt arose from reckoning in the transports[30] and calling the whole warships; the number 350 for the Carthaginian fleet merely shews that Fabius, as a good patriot, had given a number a little bigger than that of his own side as he made it out. The hurried building of the Carthaginians before Hermaea may have been from 50 to 100 ships, according as from 150 to 100 escaped from Ecnomus; the figure, then, at Ecnomus would have been at the outside 250 (100 being lost), but might not have exceeded 200. Apart from the preference to be given to the smaller number, if sufficient, other considerations all point to 200. The Roman number 230 shews that they expected to meet a fleet of not over 200, or else, looking to

early writer with a sound text by a poor and late compiler. Reuss, u. s. and Speck, *Handelsgesch.* 3. ii, § 824–5, follow Meltzer: but one cannot write history merely by taking the line of least resistance.

[27] Possibly the number 114 comes from the column. Perhaps, too, the reason why Philinus (Diodorus) gives the Roman loss at Drepana as 117 was to shew that the Carthaginians had had a full revenge for Hermaea.

[28] There is an exact parallel in Appian's account of the war against Antiochus; he dismisses in two casual lines the very important defeat of Hannibal by the Rhodians at Side, which Livy gives at length; and this in a war where his general agreement with Livy over the naval operations is most marked.

[29] If any Roman ships were lost at Hermaea, the number lost in the storm would be fewer, 80 anyhow remaining.

[30] This must be a common source of confusion in classical as in modern) fleet numbers. No figures in antiquity are more exaggerated than those of transports: after such numbers as 3,000 and 1,600, the writer who confined himself to less than four figures must have been astounded at his own moderation.

what they did later, they could easily have built more, having some 140 ships and 10 prizes in hand to start with. The Roman number 250 at Hermaea, which came automatically without building, would have been increased had Carthage shewn ability to put 250 to sea, and almost proves that the Carthaginian number at Ecnomus was less; for it is to be remembered that, both before and after Ecnomus, Rome, in addition to her greater resources, had a very long start in building. We have, too, the tradition, whether prior to or due to this war, that 200 ships meant a supreme effort for Carthage.[31] Most important of all, perhaps, is the battle itself, which points to the Carthaginians being outnumbered; they tried enveloping[32] tactics, and failed because their centre was too weak for its work. We must, I think, give Carthage at Ecnomus 200, as at Hermaea; anyhow not much over. If the Romans after Hermaea took off 114 prizes in tow, there must have been a few ships too badly wounded to tow[33]; if we say 16, and give Carthage some 70 not very efficient ships remaining, that is all they can well have had.[34]

To continue Polybius' figures. After the first storm, off Camarina, the Romans, having 80 ships left, built 220, raising their fleet to 300 (254 B.C.); they capture Panormus (253 B.C.); they lose 150 ships in a second storm, off the Lucanian coast (253 B.C.), and retire from the sea; in 252 B.C. they escort a convoy to Panormus with 60 ships; they again build 50 ships, making 200 in 250 B.C., in which year they form the siege of Lilybaeum; in 249 B.C. P. Claudius has 123 ships at Drepana, and L. Junius 120. In 251 B.C. Hasdrubal sails to Sicily with 200 ships and a large army; after Drepana Adherbal receives a reinforcement of 70 ships under Carthalo. These are all the numbers given by Polybius. It will be best to work backwards from Drepana.

Claudius' plan was to sail from Lilybaeum to Drepana with every ship he had.[35] Polybius says 30 escaped, and *the rest*, 93, were captured: the account shows that some of them were much damaged. His fleet, then, numbered 123. Adherbal's force is not given. It must have been smaller than the Roman; first, because Claudius thought it feasible to attack him under the catapults of Drepana; secondly, because Adherbal's victory was looked upon as an unexpected salvation for Carthage; thirdly, because in Polybius' list of the advantages on the Carthaginian side that of numbers is not included. At the same time, it was large enough to capture the bulk of the Roman fleet. We shall not be far wrong if we put it at 100 at the outside, possibly rather less. Why Claudius attacked is clear enough; he must have heard that Adherbal was about to receive a reinforcement of 70 ships, (which in fact arrived after the battle,) and he very properly

[31] The difficulty, of course, all through (money apart) both at Rome and Carthage, must have been, not ships, but men to row them.

[32] The Romans are described as in wedge formation, not in line.

[33] Even at Drepana, Polybius says, there was some ramming, and some ships settled.

[34] Assuming that they *did* have as many as 200 ships at Hermaea.

[35] Polyb. 1. 49, πάντι τῷ στολῳ. I mention this as it is commonly assumed that he left a squadron at Lilybaeum, a most useless proceeding, as the blockade was a failure anyhow, and his striking force insufficient.

supposed that if he did not attack while he could, that able man would presently attack *him* in overwhelming force. No wonder he lost his temper with the sacred chickens.

After the battle, Carthalo, with the 70 ships he had brought and 30 others[36] given him by Adherbal, attacked the 30 Roman ships that had escaped to Lilybaeum with Claudius, and accounted for 'a few' (ὀλίγα) of them, towing off some and destroying others. Diodorus says he captured 5 and sank a few; and Philinus would make the most of it. Putting both accounts together, we may say that Carthalo cannot have accounted for more than 10 of the 30. Carthalo then took up his station not far from Lilybaeum, to hinder the approach of the other consul, L. Junius,[37] who was coming up with a convoy and 120 warships, which figure included ships that had joined him from 'the camp and the rest of Sicily.'[38] He had these 120 *before* Carthalo's attack on the thirty ships at Lilybaeum, and anyhow the surviving 20 could not have joined him, as Carthalo with 100 ships lay between. Junius' entire fleet was lost in a storm. At the end, then, of this disastrous year, in which the Romans lost some 223 ships, they had some 20 only remaining.

Now to work backwards. The Romans built 50 ships in 250 B.C.; in 249 B.C. they had 243; their number, then, in 250 B.C., before they built, was not 150, as Polybius says, but 193. They did not, therefore, lose 150 ships in the second storm, off the Lucanian coast. Now they had 80 ships left after the first storm, and are said to have built 220, making 300 altogether. Why they should raise their fleet to this unparalleled figure at a time when Carthage was quite impotent at sea does not appear. Diodorus gives the total Roman fleet after this building (not the new-built ships only) as 250, and we have assumed that Philinus was likely to exaggerate the Roman strength. The real number, therefore, was probably under 250; and as we have to account for the figure 220 in Polybius, there can be little doubt that 220 was the total, not of the newly built ships, but of the whole Roman fleet after the building.[39] The fleet, then, in 254 B.C. was 220 ships; the loss in the second storm in 253 B.C. was not 150, but 27 (220 − 27 = 193); 193, with the 50 built in 250 B.C., make up the 243 required for the year of Drepana. The supposed loss of 150 in the second storm must, then, be a duplicate of the loss in the first storm;[40] and if the Romans sent only 60

[36] Polybius says the prizes were taken to Carthage. Some were damaged; if we take the same proportion as after Ecnomus, 60 to 70 at the most would be worth refitting, and Adherbal would have remaining just about the same number of ships to tow them.

[37] The Fasti shew that he was Claudius' colleague. Polybius speaks as if he were his successor and sailed the next year 248 B.C., but it seems reasonably clear that the naval operations under both consuls form one connected sequence and took place in the same year, 249 B.C.

[38] Pol. 1, 52. If, in fact, any ships joined him from *Lilybaeum*, they must have been sent off before the battle of Drepana.

[39] The 300 of Polybius may be another instance of confusion due to transports or ships other than warships; for Diodorus says the Romans sailed to the siege of Lilybaeum with 240 long ships and 60 cerculi, *i.e.* 300 vessels. Cerculi occur in the Roman navy (or the Roman service) in both the second and third Punic wars. Liv. 23, 34; App. *Lib.* 75.

[40] At first sight the loss in the first storm would seem to be 170 Roman ships and 114 prizes; for the prizes would, of course, have been cast off when the storm broke. But as

with a convoy in 252 B.C. it was because 60 sufficed, and not because they were retiring from the sea.

For that the Carthaginian navy did not easily recover from the battle of Hermaea seems certain. They had perhaps 70 not very efficient ships left, and the Romans did what they liked at sea. They took Panormus; they sent supplies there with only 60 ships as escort; they blockaded Lilybaeum. The Carthaginians in 250 B.C. could not attempt to raise the blockade; they had to confine themselves to running it: how little there was to fear from the sea side is shown by the Romans dividing their fleet, and also laying up part of the blockading fleet and using the rowers as land troops. The history of the second Punic war seems to shew that Carthage could not, and knew she could not, support at once a great fleet and a great army; and in 251 B.C. she had sent to Sicily the army and the elephants with which Hasdrubal attempted to retake Panormus by land.[41] The destruction of that army and the danger to Lilybaeum, however, compelled Carthage once more to turn to her fleet; by 249 B.C. Adherbal had perhaps 100 ships, and 70 others were ready at Carthage: it was this growing danger that compelled Claudius to strike.

For the period after Drepana there is little to say. The Carthaginians had some 170 ships, less any lost at Drepana, plus some 60 to 70 prizes worth refitting. But after a little they laid up their fleet, no doubt because the crews were wanted for the war already on their hands in Africa;[42] under these circumstances it is wholly unlikely that any prizes were fitted out. When the Romans again built they built 200 ships; these, with the 20 or so remaining after Drepana, which according to Zonaras had meanwhile been used as privateers, would give them about 220 in the final battle of the Aegates Insulae. The Carthaginian number is unknown; Polybius merely says they got ready 'the ships'; if we assume that they had 100 ships at Drepana and no losses there, and could and did refit 70 prizes—all the most favourable hypotheses, in fact—they *may* have controlled 240 ships, as an outside number. But if they laid up their own fleet, it is unlikely that they had fitted out the prizes. They had used up their trained crews; both the rowers and the marines who took part in the battle were extemporised; no doubt they were in part got together from the crews of the transports; for that there were no men to spare for transports is shown by the warships themselves being loaded down with stores for the army of Sicily. It is not in such

rostra were forthcoming for Aemilius Paullus' column, one division must have got to harbour with its prizes; consequently the Roman ships lost were more than 170.

[41] The 200 'ships' with which Hasdrubal crossed to Sicily Polyb. 1.38 are obviously transports. To suppose that they were warships makes nonsense of the events before Lilybaeum in 250 and 249 B.C., more particularly of the Romans laying up part of their fleet, the account of which is very circumstantial. It is no objection to this that Hasdrubal *did* get his large army across; the Romans had no naval base facing Africa, and even if they had had, the command of the sea (such as it was with galleys) rarely, if ever, prevented an army crossing in ancient times. Pompey commanded the sea absolutely as against Caesar; so did the liberators as against Antony and Octavian; yet in each case the Adriatic was crossed in force.

[42] Meltzer, vol. 2, p. 336.

circumstances, and with such a dearth of men, that they could have got to sea a fleet of 240 ships, the largest in their history. If we give them their own ships, 170, we shall be nearer the mark, with perhaps 200, the number of Ecnomus and Hermaea, as an outside figure.[43] But this time seamanship was on the side of Rome; 120 Carthaginian ships were sunk or taken; and the war was over.

If any reader has had the patience to follow the foregoing analysis, he will already have seen the deduction from it; but for clearness' sake I may repeat the figures that seem probable. In 260 B.C. the Romans had about 160 ships, the Carthaginians 130. At Ecnomus, Romans 230, Carthaginians about 200 (with a possibility of a somewhat higher Carthaginian figure). At Hermaea, Romans 250, Carthaginians 200. In 254 B.C., Romans 220, Carthaginians about 70. In 249 B.C., Romans 243, Carthaginians about 170. At the Aegates Insulae, 241 B.C., Romans about 220, Carthaginians perhaps 170 to 200 at the outside.

The tradition, then, that a fleet of 200 ships meant a supreme effort for Carthage dates from before the war, and was well founded; it was known to the Romans; and the Romans, in their bid for sea-power, were not invading the realm of miracle, but were acting on a reasonable, cool-headed calculation. They reckoned that, with their greater resources, they could keep up a fleet of from 20 to 40 ships in excess of 200, that is, in excess of anything they expected Carthage to do; and that if they did this they must win. And they did win; though their calculations were nearly upset by the genius of Adherbal and the jealousy of the sea. Their victory was none the less a heroic achievement because it was founded in a well-reasoned policy and because the Carthaginian sea-power was perhaps not so great as we have been accustomed to think.[44]

One other conclusion appears to follow from the figures. The Romans were throughout building to the Carthaginian numbers, not *vice versâ*. This does not necessarily mean that they could build more quickly, for they had (so to speak) the whip hand in the matter of building from Mylae to Drepana; but it does mean that they must have known a great deal more of what was going on at Carthage than the Carthaginians knew of what was

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[43] There is another, perhaps a better, way of getting at the Carthaginian fleet of 241 B.C. In the war with the mercenaries the Carthaginians had nothing but triremes and pentekontors (Polyb. 1, 73); they had therefore lost all their quinqueremes at the Aegates Insulae, including presumably the Roman prizes. Suppose all the 120 ships lost to have been quinqueremes, the swifter ships alone escaping 120 is 50 per cent. of 240, 60 per cent. of 200, 70 per cent. of 170, 80 per cent. of 150. But we know that in 219 B.C. the Carthaginian fleet of Spain contained 88 per cent. of quinqueremes, (post. p. 9); it is therefore most unlikely that their fleet of 241 B.C. contained as few as 50 per cent., or even 60 per cent., and we come back to this, that a fleet of not over 170 cannot be far from the mark. Of course, if the 120 ships lost were not all quinqueremes, the argument is even stronger.

[44] If 200 ships or so was in fact Carthage's effective limit, the limitation must have had to do with the *crews*, of which we know little. It has nothing to do, for instance, with the number of the νεώρια at Carthage being 220; for, apart from Utica, the Carthaginians had the control of the docks built by Agathocles at Hippagreta (App. *Lib.* 110); and besides, a fleet could at a pinch winter ashore anywhere (*e.g.* Liv. 36, 45).

going on at Rome. Did Hieron provide for the intelligence of his allies, as well as for their commissariat?[45]

The probability of the correctness of the view which I have taken is much enhanced by a consideration of the figures handed down for the second Punic war. I am not going into these in detail, but I may give a few salient points. The Romans began operations in 218 B.C. by sending out 220 ships.[46] By 217 B.C. it was clear that Carthage was not going to fight at sea. In 215 B.C. the Carthaginians had 120 ships at sea,[47] plus a few in Spain, possibly 18.[48] In 214 B.C. the Roman fleet is down to 185.[49] In 212 B.C. the largest Carthaginian fleet of the war, 130 ships under Bomilcar, attempts to relieve Syracuse.[50] In 211 B.C. the Roman fleet is raised to 215, a new squadron of 30 being fitted out and sent to Spain under M. Junius Silanus,[51] giving 100 for Sicily, 65 for Spain, and 50 for the Adriatic; the latter squadron, however, was tied to watching Philip, and could hardly be counted as available against Carthage. In 208 B.C. there was a scare of a great Carthaginian fleet, the number, of course, being put at 200.[52] Rome had already 233 ships this year, *i.e.* those of 211 B.C. plus 18 taken by Scipio at New Carthage and fitted out[53]; all the ships in Spain, however, had been laid up and the crews added to the army, while the fleet of the Adriatic did not count as against Carthage. Scipio was therefore ordered to equip and send to Sardinia 50 ships, and 50 additional ships were fitted out at Rome, giving, with the fleet of Sicily, 200 ships[54]; while Silanus had in addition 30 quinqueremes in Spain for which he had crews, and which were available should the Carthaginian fleet materialise.[54]

The events of the year 208 B.C., in which Rome equipped 230 ships to meet a threatened Carthaginian fleet of 200, do appear entirely to support the conclusion come to with regard to the first Punic war.

One word as to the total losses given by Polybius. Assuming that his figures for the losses in the separate battles are correct—and without this assumption we cannot go into the figures at all—the total of 500 given for the Carthaginian loss is not very wide of the mark; as worked out in this

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[45] The only time, except in Spain, when a Roman squadron seems to have been outnumbered by a Carthaginian was after Syracuse had joined Carthage; Marcellus in 212 B.C. had to offer battle to Bomilcar with an inferior force.

[46] Polyb. 3, 41 = App. *Ib.* 14 = Liv. 21, 17. Livy adds 20 cloaces.

[47] Liv. 23, 32.

[48] The number captured at New Carthage, Polyb. 10, 17.

[49] 150 for Sicily and the Adriatic (Liv. 24, 11), plus 35 in Spain, the original squadron of Cn. Scipio. There were also in Spain 25 prizes taken from Himilco (Polyb. 3, 96 = Liv. 22, 19), but it appears from Polyb. 10, 17, that these were not fitted out.

[50] Liv. 25, 27. I find it impossible to make out from Livy's confused narrative (24, 36; 25, 25; 25, 27) whether there were or were not 20 other Carthaginian ships in the harbour of Syracuse with Epicydes.

[51] Liv. 26, 19.

[52] Liv. 27, 22. The 80 ships of Scipio that he mentions are the original 35, the 18 taken at New Carthage, and the 25 taken from Himilco and never fitted out.

[53] Polyb. 10, 17.

[54] In estimating this tremendous effort (280 ships), it must be remembered that the Romans were now in point using slave rowers (Liv. 24, 11; 26, 35; and that some of Scipio's crews were pressed Spaniards (Polyb. 10, 17 = Liv. 26, 47.)

paper, the actual loss may have been something like 450.[55] But the total of 700 for the Roman loss is much too high, even on Polybius' own showing: for it includes the 114 prizes taken at Hermaea, which are thus reckoned twice over. The Roman loss cannot well have been much over 500.[56] Even so, these are very large figures; as large as for the eighteen years preceding and including Actium.

Even, however, if the numbers arrived at in this paper seem more probable than the traditional ones, there still remain two difficulties—the question of light craft, and Polybius' use of the word πεντήρης. The Roman figures are, of course, inclusive totals, comprising all ships under Roman control, Italiot or otherwise: it seems that the Romans did not call on Hieron's navy at all. But a question arises whether the fleet numbers do or do not include light craft; also whether in the third century B.C. light craft took part in fleet actions at all, as they undoubtedly often did in the second. I am not going into this here; but light craft (by which I mean lembi and other ships smaller than pentekontors) raise many difficulties in studying ancient fleet numbers, and may be responsible for many apparently purposeless exaggerations.[57] The fleets of the first Punic war were of course accompanied by a few scouts,[58] but whether these be included or not, they would be much the same for both sides, and would not alter the proportions.

It is necessary, however, to refer to Polybius' use of πεντήρης. That these large numbers of quinqueremes were not all quinqueremes is now almost a commonplace. Other wars apart, we know that in this one both sides had triremes[59] and pentekontors,[60] and the Carthaginians quadriremes.[61] The same usage of *quinqueremis* is not infrequently found in the third decade of Livy, no doubt taken from Polybius: and Livy sometimes supplies a sort of proof that *quinqueremes* do not always mean quinqueremes.[62] The real question, of

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[55] Mylae 50, Sardinia 20 to 40, Tyndaris 18, Eenomus 100, Hermaea something over 114, say 130, Aegates Ins. 120: or about 438 to 458 all told. Polybius adds another 30 or so for the supposed battle before Mylae.

[56] Boodes takes 17, Tyndaris 9, Eenomus 24, first storm (with Hermaea) 170, second storm 27, year of Drepana 223=470. Add some 10 for Mylae, and an unknown loss at the Aegates Insulae. Polybius gets his figure by counting the Hermaea prizes again, and adding another 123 for the second storm.—Refitted prizes make the Roman and Carthaginian totals overlap to some extent, perhaps 70 to 80 ships.

[57] Perhaps I may give one instance of what I mean. Battle of Corycus, 191 B.C.; Livy and Appian agree exactly as to the Roman fleet, but Livy gives Polyxenidas 100 ships (70 cataphracts, 30 apertae), while Appian (*Syr.* 22) gives him 200. Now Appian, who himself wrote on the Roman navy, does not, as a rule, throw naval numbers about anyhow; (for the proof of this see Kromayer's article in *Philologus* before cited, passim): and the explanation must be that Polyxenidas' battle fleet of 100 ships was accompanied by some 100 light craft, which Livy has not given. As we fortunately know that 10 years earlier Philip V. had fought in these waters with a fleet containing 150 lembi to 53 cataphracts, we can see that Appian is probably right, especially as Polyxenidas was engaging an enemy 151 strong: and for once we completely justify the larger number.

[58] Polyb. 1, 53, 9. οἱ προπλεῖν εἰθισμένοι λεμβοι.

[59] Polyb. 1, 20; Duilius' column.

[60] Polyb. 1, 20; 1, 73.

[61] Polyb. 1, 47.

[62] For instance, Marcellus' fleet before Syracuse is 60 quinqueremes Polyb. 8, 4 (6)= Liv. 24, 34; but he has a quadrireme Liv. 25, 30) and 2 triremes and 3 smaller craft (Liv. 26, 39). (I do not say that the smaller craft are reckoned in the 60.) Again, Liv. 21, 49 and 50, the praetor M. Aemilius cuts off and captures 7 Carthaginian quinqueremes, with 1,700 milites

course, is Polybius' credit; and I think we can go a little nearer than the mere assertion, no doubt partly true, that he used πεντήρης simply for 'warship,' as some writers use τριήρης.

There can be no doubt that, for the Roman navy of the third and second centuries B.C., at any rate, the quinquereme *was* the standard warship, quite apart from the first Punic war. If Rome engaged to aid a foreign power, it was with quinqueremes.[63] If a victory was to be announced, a quinquereme was sent.[64] Envoys and commissioners always sailed in quinqueremes, usually one apiece.[65] It was the typical Roman ship; and after 260 B.C. was very likely almost the only type of ship built in Rome itself,[66] seeing that the treaty cities supplied open vessels, triremes or lesser, and did not (except Carthage after 202 B.C.) supply cataphracts.

Fortunately, we do possess one trustworthy piece of evidence of the composition of a Carthaginian fleet in 219 B.C.; probably a Roman squadron was very similar. When Hannibal set out on his march, he handed over to his brother Hasdrubal his ships, consisting of 50 quinqueremes, 2 quadriremes, and 5 triremes.[67] Polybius rather apologises for being so precise, but says he took the details from the inscription on bronze, which he had read, left by Hannibal himself in the temple of Hera Lacinia. This would make the proportion of quinqueremes in a squadron sometimes as high as 88 per cent.[68] The Arcadian, mediterraneus homo, may be pardoned for talking of a fleet as a fleet of quinqueremes when in fact 12 per cent. of the number were something else; while the philosophic historian would certainly consider the discrepancy supremely unimportant. When Polybius has good authority before him, Hannibal or an admiral of Rhodes, he gives precise details; elsewhere it may be that he is satisfied with conveying what he considers to be a substantially correct impression; and, after all, he himself had seen a fleet of the old Roman navy, perhaps the last of its fleets to go into action. For that navy scarcely survived the destruction of its great antagonist; and Rome was content to fight with ships of Greece and Asia until the lex Gabinia opened a new chapter in the history of the sea.

W. W. TARN.

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nautaeque, *i. e.* about 242 to a ship; the *rowers* on a quinquereme were more than that, according to Polybius.

[63] Liv. 27, 24, the treaty with Aetolia. That quinqueremes were in fact sent appears from Liv. 27, 32, where on 15 of the ships Sulpicius ferries 4,000 troops over the Gulf of Corinth, giving an average of 266 on a ship, which Kromayer says is the highest to be found.

[64] Polyb. 10, 19 = Liv. 26, 51.

[65] Polyb. 15, 2; Liv. 28, 17; 29, 9; 30, 25; 30, 26; 31, 11.

[66] I think there is no instance of any other type being built.

[67] Polyb. 3, 33 = Liv. 21, 22.

[68] If I may venture on one modern parallel, the place of the quinquereme at this time was exactly that of the 74 under Nelson; the quadrireme and trireme corresponded to the smaller ships of the line of 60 or fewer guns, the 'light craft' to frigates and brigs, while the heptereis and dekereis of the Hellenistic powers took the place of the ships of 110 and 120 guns built by France and Spain. Though both quinquereme and trireme fought in the line, the fact that Livy classes triremes among ships minoris formae, as opposed to the quinqueremes, &c., majoris formae (37, 23; 36, 41), shews some well-marked distinction between the two other than mere size; no doubt the line of division is between the galleys with little oars rowed by one man and those with great oars rowed by several men, a distinction which to a spectator would be most conspicuous.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CYZICUS DISTRICT, 1906.

[ROUTES followed: (*a*) Panderma, Mihallitch, Kermasti, Kavakly, Susurlu, Eski Manyas, Yeni Manyas, Alexa, Panderma; (*b*) Panderma, Erdek, Karabogha, Gunen, Pomak Keui, Hautcha, Panderma; (*c*) Soma, Balukiser, Mudania, Brusa.]

1. Panderma, in private possession: stele 0·40 × 0·25 m., top broken, with relief:—

(l.) Worshipper with sheep; altar; (r.) Apollo standing, with kithara in left hand, patera in right. Below (letters ·015):

ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ — *Ἡλιόδωρος*
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ — *Ἀπόλλωνι.*

The relief is of a type very commonly found in the district; cf. *J.H.S.* xxiii. 87 (39), xxiv. 20 (1), xxv. 58 (13).

2. Kermasti, at the Konak. Two fragments of white marble epistyle, consisting of dentils, frieze of bucrania, and double architrave: both fragments have been broken across. The architrave is 0·12 m. deep, the whole epistyle 0·30. The architrave is inscribed in letters ·02 high with apices and broken crossbars in Η, Ε:—

(*a*) 0·64 long, frieze missing:

ΗΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΤΗΝΑΓΑΘΗΝΤΗ
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΥΣΧΗΜΩΝ

(*b*) 0·60 long:

ΤΟΝΝΑΟΝΑΥΤΗΣΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΓ
ΩΡΦ

(*c*) A third fragment, 0·33 long, in the garden of the museum at Brusa, reads:

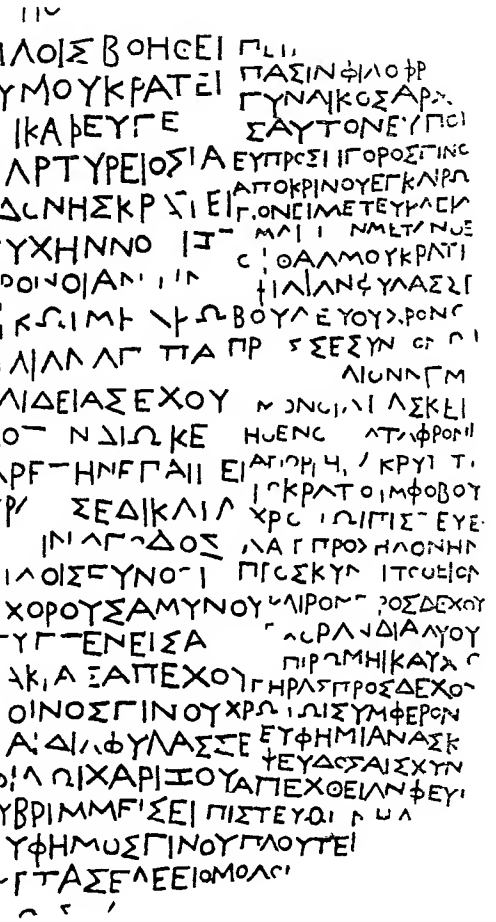
ΟΛΕΩΣΤΥΧΗΝΚΑΙ
ΟΡΦΥΡΟΠΩΛΗΣ

The whole therefore runs:

Μειλ]ητοπολειτῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν τῆ[ς π]όλεως Τύχην καὶ τὸν ναὸν αὐτῆς κατεσκεύασε[ν |
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Εὐσχήμων πορφυροπώλης.

These fragments probably came from an excavation on the site of Miletopolis at the fifth kilometre stone from Kermasti on the road to Mihallitch, where I have seen at various times a quantity of Roman architectural detail including green marble shafts, white marble twisted columns, elaborate circular ceiling panels, and various fragments of architraves, etc. The site was apparently plundered for the building of the mosque at Kavakly, where there is a corresponding green marble column A Tyche, not specially characterized as a City Tyche, and never in a temple, occurs on Miletopolitan coins of Crispina, J. Domna, Gordian III. (medallion) and Otacilia (Mionnet, ii. Nos. 363, 364, 368, 371).

3. *Ibid.*: Yellowish marble slab, broken top and bottom, 0·35 m. (left edge)—0·29 (right edge) high, 0·20 broad, ·085 thick: dowel holes in both edges: letters ·01—·0075 high. From two squeezes[1]:—



[1] The letter is too broken for reproduction, whence discrepancies between the facsimile and transliteration.

φ]ίλοις βοήθει.
θ]υμοῦ κράτει.
ἄ]δικα φεῦγε.
μαρτύρει ὅσια.
5 ἡ]δονῆς κράτει.
ε]ὐχὴν νόμιζε.
π]ρόνοιαν τίμα ?.
ἀ]δίκῳ μὴ χρῶ.
φ]ιλίαν ἀγάπα.
10 ἀ]ναιδείας (ἀπ ἔχου.
δόξαν δίωκε.
ἀρετὴν ἐπαίνει.
πρᾶσσε δίκαια.
τι]μὴν ἀπόδος.
15 φίλοις εὐνόει.
ἐ]χθροὺς ἀμύνου.
συγγενεῖς ἄσκει
κ]ακίας ἀπέχου.
μίσ]οινος γίνου.
20 τ]ὰ ἴδια φύλασσε.
φίλωι χαρίζου.
ὕβριμ μείσει.
εὔφημος γίνου.
οἰ]κέτας ἐλέει.
25 . . . οις . .

πέ(ρ)ας ε . . .
πᾶσιν φιλοφ[ρόνει.
γυναικὸς ἄρχ[ε.
σαυτὸν εὖ ποί[ει ?
εὐπροσήγορος γίνο[υ. 5
ἀποκρίνου ἐγ καιρῶ[ι.
πόνει μετ' εὐκλεί[ας.
ἁμαρτίαν μετα[νόει.
ὀφθαλμοῦ κράτε[ι.
φιλίαν φύλασσε. 10
βουλεύου χρόνω[ι.
πρ[ᾶ]σσε σὺν νόμωι.
τ[ὸ δίκ']αιον νέμε.
ὁμόνοιαν ἄσκει.
μ]ηθενὸ[ς] καταφρόν[ει. 15
ἀπόῤῥητα κρύπτε.
τ]ὸ κρατοῦμ φόβου.
χρόνωι πίστευε.
ναῖε πρὸς ἡδονήν.
προσκύνει τὸ θεῖο[ν 20
καιρὸμ προσδέχο[υ.
ἔχθραν διαλύου.
ἐπὶ ῥώμηι μὴ) καυχῶ.
γῆρας προσδέχου.
χρῶ τῶι συμφέροντ[ι. 25
εὐφημίαν ἄσκ[ει.
ψεῦδος αἰσχύνο[υ.
ἀπέχθειαν φεῦγε.
πιστεύω[ν] μὴ ἀ . . .
πλούτει ἀ . . . 30
ὁμολόγ[ει . . .

The date of this curious collection of aphorisms seems from the orthography and lettering to be about 300 B.C. Its purpose will probably never be known unless the preamble of it or a similar inscription comes to light.

The following copies of inscriptions were courteously communicated to me by Mr. D. A. Renjipéris of the Régie.

4. Alpat Keui :

ΤΗΓΟΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕ
ΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΗΣΕ

. . . . . .
στρα]τηγὸν ἀρετῆς ἕ[νε-
κα] καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ε[ἰς ἑαυτόν ?

5. Melde (the site of Miletopolis): stone with right edge broken.

ERRATAOVAE	. . . . .
ITINIARMINIA	in<i> Arm(e)nia
BENDOMITIO	su]b (C)n. Domitio [Corbulon- ?
EIEG	e (l)eg[atus ? Caesar- ?
SAVGPROPR	is Aug: pro pr[aetore ?
PFSCAASPRO	. . . . .
OHONOR · C · AVS	honor[is] caus[a ?
ΔΗΡΑΠΑΡΑΧΕΙΜΑΣ	ἐν Ἀβ]δήρᾳ παραχειμάσ[ας
ΠΟΝΑΙΟΝ	

The Latin is evidently ignorantly copied, but the mention of Armenia suggests that the inscription refers to a legate of Cn. Domitius Corbulo, possibly Ummidius Quadratus (Dessau *Prosop. Rom.* 600), whose family later held office in Asia; but conjecture is unprofitable till a better copy of the inscription is to hand.

6. Melde: letters with *apices*, A, E with disconnected cross-strokes:—

ΤΙΤΟϹΦ/	Τίτος Φλ[αούιος
ΟΥΙΟΥΑϹ	Τίτου (υ)ἱοῦ Ἀσ[κληπ-
ΡΕΙΝΑΑΓ	ιάδης Κυ]ρείνᾳ ἀπ[οτελέσας
ΤΕΙΜΑϹΤΩΝϹΕΒΑϹ	τειμὰς τῶν Σεβασ[τῶν ἐν τῷ
ΛΗΤΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΙΕΡ	Μει]λητοπολειτῶν ἱερῷ
ΧΗϹΑϹ	καὶ γυμνασιαρ]χήσας ?

7. Melde:

ΟΔΗ[ΜΟ]Σ	ὁ δῆ[μο]ς
ΝΑΙΟΝΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΝΓΝΑΟ	Γ]ναίον Πομπήιον Γνα(ί)ο[υ
ΟΝΜΑΓΝΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ	υἱ]ὸν Μάγνον, αὐτοκράτορα
ϽΤΡΙΤΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ	τ]ὸ τρίτον, σωτῆρα καὶ εὐερ-
ΕΤΗΝΤΟΥΤΕΔΗΜΟΥΚΑΙ	γ]έτην τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ
ΤΗΣΑΣΙΑΣΠΑΣΗΣΕΠΟ	τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης, ἐπό-
ΤΗΝΓΗΣΤΕΚΑΙΘΑΛΑΣ	π]την γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσ-
ΗΣΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΑΚΑΙ	σ]ης, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
ΝΟΙΑΣΕΙΣΕΥΑΥΤΟΝ	εὐ]νοίας εἰς ἑ<υ>αυτόν.

Other honorary inscriptions of Pompey in Asia have been found at Thymbra[2] and in Mytilene.[3] The present dates from the passing of the Manilian law (66 B.C.), but Pompey is not known to have been in this district at the time, though σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου εὐνοίας ἕνεκα εἰς ἑαυτὸν seem to imply personal relations. Miletopolis makes its first

[2] *C.I.G.* 3603 = Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 58. [3] *I.G.* 163 5.

appearance in history as the scene of Fimbria's victory over Mithradates in 85 B.C.[4]

The character of the above group of inscriptions, especially the early (3) and the important (7) makes the attribution to Cyzicus of the long series of inscriptions from Ulubad more than ever problematical.

8. Yali Chiftlik: copy of M. Alphonse Serafimoff.

ΑΓΑΘΗΙΤΥΧΗΙ	Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι.
ΑΥΡϹΩΦΡΟΝΙΟϹ	Αὐρ. Σωφρόνιος
ΘΕΩΕΠΗΚΟΩ	θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ
ΔΙΟΝΥϹΩΚΕΒΡΗΝ	Διονύσῳ Κεβρην[ίῳ ?
ΕΥΧΑΡΙϹΤΗΡΙΟΝ	εὐχαριστήριον.

Dedications to Dionysus are scarce in the district (Lebas 1100, Mihallitch, *Ath. Mitth.* ix. 17 (3), Panderma, *J.H.S.* xxv. 57 (7), Gunen): Bromios and Mystae are mentioned in an inscription of Beychiftlik (= Yali-chiftlik) *B.C.H.* xxv. 874 (20) = Ξενοφάνης i. 330 (12).

9. Yeni Manyas, in the street: marble block 0·77 m. × 0·64 with relief of wreath in sunk panel; below, inscription, 0·29 deep, in letters ·02 high, much worn and defaced.

ΟΥ . . .	ΔΗΟ
. . . . .	ΟΜΟΘ
ΤΗΛΙΟΣΤΗΣ	
. . . . .	
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣΕ	ΣΤΟ
ΣΑΝΤΑΑΙΔΙΩ	ΝΩ
Σ . . ΦΑΝΟΟΙΝ	ΙΔ
ΗΣΑΝΤΑΛΙΔΙϹ	ΙΩ
ΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ	Ν ΒΟ
ΝΟΘΕΤΗΣ	ΙΩΣ

The honorary character of the monument is shewn by the relief and the frequent occurrence of στέφανος and αἰδίως in the mangled inscription.

Tchakyrdja:—

10. In private house: fragment of slab with sunk panel; on edge, in letters of late form ·03 m. high:

ΙϹΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ	Θέσ]ις Ἀντιόχου.

[4] *C.I.G.* 6855. Cf. Memnon 34, Frontin. iii. 17. 5. Oros. vi. 2. 10.

11. Step of school-house: altar-shaped stone, 1·10 m. broad, 0·50 high. Along the upper profile (letters ·035):

ϽCECTΩTICT ← 0·45 → ΛI-MATIEI

ὑπεύθυν]ος ἔστω τ(ῆ)ς τ[υμβωρυχίας ἐγκ]λήματι· εἰ [δέ τις etc.

12. In private house: marble stele, 0·75 × 0·48 m., with relief of (from left) four worshippers, sacrifice of bull, large plain altar. Below (letters ·02 high):

ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣΚΑΙΘΕΟΞΕΝΟΣ	*Μελέαγρος καὶ Θεόξενος*
ΚΑΙΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΙΠΡΩΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ	*καὶ Μένανδρος οἱ Προτομάχου*
ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΑΙΩΙΕΥΧΗΝ	*Διὶ Βρονταίωι εὐχήν.*

The stone is said to be from a site between Tchakyrdja and Hadji Paon. The dedication to Zeus Brontaios is interesting in connexion with the autonomous coin-types of Poemanenum,[5] *Obv.* Zeus head; *Rev.* Fulmen. Zeus Hypsistos Brontaios is mentioned in an inscription from Mihallitch (Lebas 1099 = Mon. Fig. Pl. 133, and p. 115 = *Rev. Philol.* i. 38 = *Ath. Mitth.* iv. 21. Tchinili Kiosk *Catal. Sculp.* 126).

Pomak Keui (left bank of Aesepus, half an hour below Gunen):—

13. In the street: marble block, 0·91 m. × 0·485, ·05 thick, letters ·045, much worn:

ΥΛΙΟΣΙΙΙΕΙΜΟΣΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΛΙΠΑΣΙ
ϽΙΣΤΗΝΛΕΥΚΕΛΝΚΟΠΤΟΥΣΙΝ
ΗΝΛΡΙΝΚΑΙ . Γ . ΛΤΙΝΑΛΠΓ
ΠΙΙ ΙΓΙ ΙΙΙυ ΙΙΟΙΙΤΟΥΤ
ΛΙΟΥ
ΓΛΠΟΙΙ ΤΣ Τ
Ν ΙΤΙ

Ἰο]ύλιος (Πρ)εῖμος παραγγέλλι πᾶσι
τ]οῖς τὴν λευκέ(α)ν κόπτουσιν [δοῦναι ?
δ]ην(ά)ριν καὶ . .

The stone is said to have come from a site on the left bank of the Aesepus opposite the hot springs of Gunen.

λευκέα = (1) *λευκαία*, the white poplar, (2) *σχοῖνος* (Hesych.), rope: an announcement engraved on stone can only refer to the former. The white poplar was associated with Zeus and Herakles (see Frazer on Paus. v. 5. 5, Boetticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 441 *sqq.*) and the tree referred to may have been one of special sanctity: it is noteworthy that Julius Primus does not forbid the cutting, but makes a tariff-charge as if cutting was habitual.[6]

[5] *J.H.S.* xxvi. 23 ff.

[6] A festival called *Δενδροκόπιον τῆς Ἥρας* is known from a Coan inscription (*B.C.H.* xxiii. 208).

14. In a garden: stele, 0·64 × 0·33, with relief of man on couch, woman seated, table, and two slaves flanking the group: below (letters, ·015):

ΑΡΤΕΜΕΙ	Ἀρτεμεὶ[ς
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ	Ἀντιπάτρου
ΧΑΙΡΕ	χαῖρε.

14*a*. The inscription, republished with a commentary by Dr. Wilhelm in *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* (v. (1905), pp. 293–302), is still to be seen in the chancel of the church of S. Nicholas at Chavutzi (Kiepert's *Hautcha*). The stone measures 0·85 × 0·63 m., the left edge being entire: my copy agrees with Limnios', except that he omitted to note two upright strokes remaining from a line above his first, and the possibly significant fact that his first line ΣΤΡΑ . . is set back from the left edge of the stone, as if it had formed the heading (Στρα[τηγοί?). Noticeable peculiarities in the lettering are (*a*) thinness of strokes throughout; (*b*) tendency to cross the ends of coincident diagonal lines (Ξ, Χ, etc.), which gives somewhat the effect of apices; (*c*) variation in form of letters: thus ρ in στρα . . is written Ꝑ, elsewhere Ρ, Π varies between ⊓ and Π; (*d*) variation in size of letters: they are normally (*ll.* 2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15) ·025 high, but rise to ·03 in *ll.* 4–8, 10, to ·0325 in *l.* 1 and to ·045 in *l.* 12. These irregularities suggest that the names were added to the list year by year.

15. Tchatal-Aghil, near Brusa, church of Theologos; slab 0·82 by 0·66: in *tabula ansata* 0·32 × 0·18, letters ·025:

ΕΥΒΟΥΛΕ	Εὔβουλε
ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ	Θεοφίλου
ΡΕ	χαῖ]ρε.

Below, relief of Herm in niche.

This stone was seen by Stephan Gerlach (1576) 'half-way between Ulubad and Brusa.'[7]

F. W. HASLUCK.

[7] *Türckisches Tagebuch* (Frankfurt, 1674), p. 257.

TERRACOTTAS FROM BOEOTIA AND CRETE.

It is proposed in this paper to deal shortly with five terracottas in the possession of the writer, which seem of sufficient interest to be illustrated. The first three are from Boeotia, the last two from Crete.

As is well known, the most primitive Greek standing figures in terracotta frequently take one of two forms—the columnar form, derived probably from the tree trunk, and the flat broad form (*σανίς*), taken apparently from the shape of a board of wood. These forms confirm the literary evidence that the most primitive statues were made of wood. The first three terracottas illustrate the latter type; in the second of them the boardlike form has been adapted by a singular device to a seated figure.

Fig. 1. Primitive standing figure from Boeotia: height 0·24 m., greatest breadth 0·84 m., thickness 0·012 m. With the exception of the head and feet, the figure is absolutely flat. The arms consist of fin-like excrescences; the feet are perhaps the best rendered part of the figure; otherwise the forms of the body are not expressed at all. The edge of the drapery, nowhere else indicated, is sharply defined above the feet.

More attention has been paid to the head. The primitive artist has grasped the fact that the eyes are the most important feature of the face, and has represented them by large disks of clay surrounded by a deep rim. The nose is long, narrow, and flat; the mouth is not indicated at all. The hair is formed from one long string of clay, which is bound over the forehead and crosses behind the head; thence it falls in a long lock, covered with a number of small indentations, on either side of the face.

The artist clearly worked with the simplest of tools, apparently pinching the clay for the most part with his own hands—this is evidently the way in which the nose has been formed—and using also a pointed instrument for the feet, hands, and hair. There are traces of a slip of white material over the whole figure.

Such *σανίς*-like figures are common, especially in Boeotia.[1] I can find no close parallel to the treatment of the hair and features.

Fig. 2. Primitive seated figure from Boeotia: height 0·145 m. The whole workmanship of this figure, when compared with the last, seems to show that

[1] Cp. Winter, *Die attischen Terrakotten*, iii. pp. 4, 5, 9, 31

it is from the same hand. It is an interesting variety of the ordinary primitive seated type; instead of the usual solid throne or seat, the figure is sustained by a support behind, rather in the style of a modern photograph frame. The

Fig. 1.

features of the face are almost identical with those of the first figure; it has the same owl-like eyes and bird-like nose, still further exaggerated. The hair

is rendered in the same way, but not decorated in front with indentations. The feet and lower edge of the drapery are not represented.

The figure holds a smaller figure clasped to the breast with the left arm,

Fig. 2.

which is far larger than the right arm. The features of the infant are those of the larger figure on a small scale.

It is interesting that the partiality for the boardlike form is so strong that it has been adapted to the seated figure. The seated female figure holding an infant is one which is common among terracottas of every period.

This type of propped seated figure has been found in several Greek sites, *e.g.* at the Argive Heraeum[2] and Tanagra.[3] The only parallel to such a

FIG. 3.

figure carrying a child is to be found in a terracotta from Boeotia at Berlin:[4] this is of a much later style.

[2] Waldstein, *Excavation of the Heraeum*, Pl. VIII. Fig. 11.

[3] Athens, National Museum, No. 833.

[4] Berlin, Antiquarium, No. 8348.

Fig. 3. Standing figure from Boeotia: height 0·235 m., average thickness 0·011 m. Here the form of the body is exactly similar to that of No. 1, except that the arms are longer and the feet are not indicated. The figure is covered with a slip of white material, on which are faint traces of red paint running perpendicularly down the centre of the body and horizontally at each side. The head, which is damaged, shows a very considerable advance. The eyes, though not exactly in the right plane, are carefully rendered, and the cheeks and chin are well modelled. The head is surmounted by a high *polos* coloured red; the hair is scarcely indicated.

Fig. 4

By analogy from sculpture in stone, the figure seems to belong to the late sixth century. It is interesting to see that the conservative instinct of the Greek prefers the flat, shapeless form of the body at a time when art is sufficiently advanced to enable the far more difficult features of the face to be represented with some success. In this respect the rendering of the human form in terracotta differs from that in stone, where perfection begins with the feet and finally reaches the head. In works of sculpture the artist naturally

tried to excel in every part of the work; in terracottas, religious conservatism demanded the form to which it was accustomed, and it was only in the head that the artist ventured to use his growing skill and knowledge.

The two Cretan figures, which were found together in a tomb near Retimo, are both equestrian, and represent uncommon types.

Fig. 4. Group of two horses and driver: height 0·12 m., extreme breadth 0·1 m. This group is made of dark, coarse clay, baked very hard and covered with a slip of white material. It represents a man mounted on a chariot; but, owing to the exigencies of the material, horses, man, and chariot are all moulded together. The chariot wheels, which are solid, appear on either side of the back legs of the horses. The structure and attachment of the chariot are not shown, and its presence is only indicated by the wheels.

Fig. 5.

It represents no doubt a war or racing chariot, consisting of wheels with a cross-bar supporting a platform on which the driver stood; the convenience of a war-chariot which could be easily mounted or dismounted from is obvious, and the racing-car preserved the form of the war-chariot.

Chief attention has been paid to the horses. Their heads are carefully modelled, particularly the ears and crest; their manes are indicated with black paint, of which considerable traces remain. The head of one is raised, giving a pleasing variety. The legs and back are only roughly blocked out.

Less attention has been paid to the charioteer. His head is rudely sketched, the large curved nose being the only marked feature; the forms of the body are not rendered at all. On the left side there are indications that the arms stretched along the horses' backs. This fact and the position of the

horses' front legs, which are planted firmly on the ground before them, seem to show that the group represents a charioteer reining in his horses.

Fig. 5. Horseman carrying faggots: height 0·145 m., extreme width 0·115 m. This group is of the same material as the last figure, and was apparently also covered with a slip of white paint, of which few traces remain. Here the horse is subsidiary, and the chief attention has been paid to the rider. The horse is of the form found on many Greek sites, and little attempt is made at modelling; the legs and tail are thick, the head small. The faggots consist of spikes of clay, built up on the top of one another. The rider sits astride on the top, his legs projecting in front and his hands on either side of the horse's mane. His face is clearly intended to be of a comic character. He wears a pointed beard; the lips are thick and the mouth large. The ears are shapeless excrescences; the nose is large, and the eyes are formed of disks attached to either side of it. The head rises to a peak at the back. In short, the figure is of that grotesque character which occasionally appears in Greek art of every period, from the early sculptures of the Athenian Acropolis down to the late Hellenistic grotesque terracottas of Asia Minor.

As is the case with the other Cretan terracottas, these equestrian figures find their closest parallel among the terracottas of Cyprus.[5] They seem to show that in Crete too is to be found something of the charm and *naïveté* of primitive Greek art of the mainland.

EDW. S. FORSTER.

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[5] Winter, *op. cit.* p. 15.

ON THE 'LIST OF THALASSOCRACIES' IN EUSEBIUS.

ALL students of Eusebius will feel grateful to Mr. J. L. Myres for his attempt in the last volume of this *Journal*[1] to discover the original text underlying the list of thalassocracies, preserved in the *Chronica* of Eusebius, and to reassert its value as historical evidence. The problem that Mr. Myres has set himself is rendered difficult not only by the general obscurity in which the sources of early Greek history are shrouded and by our almost total ignorance of the history of many of the thalassocrats during the period assigned to them in the list, but by the complicated questions of textual criticism which surround the *Chronica*, and which this problem raises in a particularly aggravated form. While not venturing to follow Mr. Myres through the wealth of historical learning, which he has brought to bear upon the subject, I have thought that I might be able to contribute something by bringing my own studies in the *Chronica* into relation to the general question.

From this point of view, §3 in Mr. Myres's article, which deals with the text and its use by Eusebius, is the most important. It is to be regretted that Mr. Myres, whose article shows an acquaintance with the essays on the *Chronica* contained in Von Gutschmid's *Kleine Schriften* (1889), and with Schöne's *Weltchronik des Eusebius* (1900), has not devoted a little space to the general critical problem of the *Chronica*, the more so, as he sometimes drops into a phraseology not consistent with the views he quotes from Schöne. For instance, he frequently refers to the Armenian version of the *Chronici Canones* as Eusebius, and to the Latin version as Jerome, as though the Armenian version were identical with the original Greek in a way in which Jerome's version is not. In one passage, p. 92[21], he distinguishes between the *Canon* and the *Chronicon*, as though the *Chronicon* were identical with the *Chronographia*, instead of being the title of the whole work. A brief description of the *Chronica* and of recent critical opinion in relation to it may therefore be useful with a view to removing confusion.

The *Chronica* of Eusebius was a Greek work in two books, called respectively the *Chronographia* and the *Chronici canones*. The *Chronographia* is a chronological treatise, consisting largely of excerpts from previous writers, and is preserved in an Armenian version. The *Chronici canones* or *canons*

[1] For convenience of reference, Mr. Myres's table is repeated on p. 76 of this article.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
		Diodorus quoted by Eusebius, Chronicon I. p. 168 Mai. p. 225 Schoene.	Syncellus [—] shows that the name is given but the numeral omitted.	Eusebius Canon, years from Abraham, and duration of sea-power.	Jerome's Canon years from Abraham, and duration of sea-power.	Eusebius' dates, reduced to years B.C.	Jerome's dates, reduced to years B.C.	Winckler's dates, years B.C.	Dates and intervals now proposed.
									1184
O	[Cares]								128 1·8
				848	842	1168	1174		1056 1046
I	Lydi (qui et	92	[—]	92	[—]	*80*	*118*		92
	Maeones)			928	960	1088	1056		964 954
II	Pelasgi	85	85	85	[—]		*49. 90. 95*		85
				lacuna in Arm. Version 1031–1099	1009 1050 1055		1007 966 961		879 869
III	Thraces	79	79		19		*92. 41. 46*		79
					1101		915	757	800 790
IV	Rhodii	23	23		23		*23*	23	23
				1113	1123	903	893	734	767 757
V	Phryges	25	25 or 6	25	25 (20)		*29*	25	25
					1152		864	709	742 732
VI	Cyprii	33	[—]	lacuna in Arm. Vers. 1167–1220	23 (32)		*28*	33	33 23
					1180		836	676	709
VII	Phoenices	45	[—]		45		*52*	45	45
					1233		783	631	664
VIII	Aegyptii	—	[—]	—	[—]		*35*	26	60
					1268		748	605	604
IX	Milesii	—		—	18		*38*	18	18
				1286	1296	730	720	587	
X	[Cares]	—		61	[—]	*59*	*49*	0	
				1345	1345	671	671	587	
XI	Lesbii	—		[96]	68	*96*			
				1441		575			578
XII	Phocaeenses	44	44	44		*45*			44
				1486		530			534
XIII	Samii	—	[—]	XVI		*17*			17
				1503		513			517
XIV	Lacedaemonii	2	12	2		2			2
				—					515
XV	Naxii	10	10	—					10
				1505		511			505
XVI	Eretrienses	15	7	15		*26*			15
				1531	1508	485	508		490
XVII	Aeginetae	10	10	10	20				10
									480
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J

(*Reprinted from Mr. Myres's article, Vol. XXVI. p. 88.*)

are a chronological table, extending from the birth of Abraham to the twentieth year of Constantine, and are preserved not only in the Armenian version already mentioned, but in the Latin version of Jerome, while a few entries are reproduced in a Syriac epitome. The original Greek of both books is lost, but can be restored in large measure from quotations and parallel passages in Syncellus and other writers. Schone in his *Weltchronik des Eusebius* has argued that of the two versions of the *Chronici canones* the Armenian has completely transformed the original arrangement of columns and spaces, while Jerome adheres line for line to the arrangement of his original. I have endeavoured in my introduction to the *Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Eusebius* (1905) to show that Jerome adheres not only line for line but page for page to his original so far as the part of the canons down to the year of Abraham 1504 (512 B.C.) is concerned, after which date he would appear to preserve only the general arrangement, not the exact lineation and pagination of Eusebius. Jerome does not attempt to correct Eusebius, but has made numerous insertions, relating mainly to Roman history. The Armenian translator on the other hand neither amends nor adds to his original, but often omits events, apparently by oversight. Schöne holds that the Armenian version is made from an earlier, and Jerome's from a later and revised edition of the *Chronici canones* of Eusebius. His reasons for this are stated in his *Weltchronik etc.* pp. 260–7. In my introduction quoted above I have left this an open question, but further study has convinced me that the differences on which Schöne has based his case are with one exception of the same kind as the differences between those manuscripts of Jerome which retain the original arrangement and those which, like the London manuscript, have substituted a different arrangement, drawn up with no great care.[2] The single exception is the inclusion in Jerome of a column of Mycenaean kings, which is absent from the Armenian *Canons*, though such a list is found in the *Chronographia*. It is impossible to base a theory of a separate edition on this one instance, since the Armenian translator, who, as we have seen, transformed the arrangement of the book, might easily have omitted a column by accident.[3] It would therefore appear that the differences in arrangement, like the differences in text, between the two versions, are for the most part the result of errors on the part of one or other translator or of some copyist. The kind of error that is most common in manuscripts of the *Chronici canones* is for entries of events, while retaining their position in relation to other entries of events in the same column, to be shifted upwards or downwards, so as to stand against

[2] Among the instances cited by Schöne are the differences in the dates of Roman bishops, on which much has been written. I am convinced that the peculiar dates of the Armenian version are simply due to scribal errors, and do not go back to Eusebius himself. See Mr. C. H. Turner's article on the Early Episcopal Lists, *Journal of Theological Studies* (1900), i. 185.

[3] The Armenian version also omits the column of Median kings, although this column is essential both to the chronological system of the work and to the arrangement of columns and spaces, as preserved in Jerome. The omission of the Mycenaean column would not in itself dislocate any of the other columns.

different years, and, where there are two columns of events, to change their position in relation to entries of events in the opposite column. It is therefore important in considering suggested corrections of the text to observe how far they involve alterations in the order of entries occurring in the same column or space.

The thalassocracies occur in two places in the *Chronica*, (1) in the *Chronographia*, represented by the Armenian version only, (2) in the *Chronici canones*, represented by the Armenian version, by Jerome, and, according to Von Gutschmid, whom we shall see reason for following, by Syncellus. There is no reason for suspecting either translator of Eusebius of having attempted to do anything else than render the text as he found it. In the case of Jerome the amanuensis would, as far as 512 B.C., simply keep each entry in the place where he found it in the Greek. Syncellus might, consistently with the principle of his work, introduce material from some other source, and in two instances he inserts alternative figures which may have been obtained elsewhere, but he does not appear in the present instance to have adopted any date from outside Eusebius. But while there appears to have been no attempt to improve on the figures given by Eusebius, it is, as Mr. Myres has pointed out, by no means clear that the dates for the thalassocracies given in the *Chronici canones* were calculated by Eusebius from the list given by Diodorus which appears in the *Chronographia*. Eusebius may have somewhere found the date of each thalassocracy already correlated to the dates of other events which appear in the *Chronici canones*, and may have placed his entries accordingly. We are therefore faced with three possibilities. We may have in Eusebius a single scheme of thalassocracies derived from Diodorus, or we may have two separate schemes of which one only is derived from Diodorus, or we may have, as Mr. Myres supposes, one scheme drawn from Diodorus, and a chaos of dates not calculated on any fixed principle.

Before examining the dates in detail it may be well to see how far Mr. Myres's table accurately represents the evidence before us. Columns A, B, and C, giving the order of the thalassocracies and the length of each as recorded in the Armenian version of the *Chronographia* are correct. But in column D, giving the figures preserved in Syncellus, a few errors may be noticed. Thus Syncellus actually gives ninety-two years as the duration of the Lydian or Maeonian thalassocracy, agreeing with the Armenian version both of the *Chronographia* and of the *Canons*. He makes no mention, however, of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and thirteenth thalassocracies instead of merely omitting the figures as Mr. Myres states. In column E, which gives the figures preserved in the Armenian *Canons*, Mr. Myres's only mistake seems to be in the case of the Eretrian thalassocracy, where he has substituted 1505, the number standing opposite the record of the event in Schone's edition, for 1514, the date pointed out by Schöne's index letter. With column F, as an accurate reproduction of Jerome's figures given in Schöne, no fault can be found, except that the forty-five years assigned to the Phoenicians are to be found in one manuscript only, and are

rightly regarded by Schöne as no part of the genuine text of Jerome. It will, however, be seen hereafter that different figures are sometimes to be found in the Bodleian manuscript from those which appear in Schöne's edition. In column G, in which the dates of the Armenian *Canons* are reduced to years B.C., the only errors are those which result from the error in column E. Thus the Lacedaemonian and Naxian thassalocracies should last eleven years instead of two, and should be dated 502 B.C., instead of 511 B.C., while the Eretrian thalassocracy should last for seventeen years only. In column H, in which Jerome's dates are reduced to years B.C., Mr. Myres has made three small errors in subtraction. Thus the forty-one years of the Thracians should be fifty-one, the twenty-three years of the Rhodians should be twenty-two, and the fifty-two years of the Phoenicians should be fifty-three. Here again the use of a revised text of Jerome might necessitate a few slight modifications. In column I, giving Winckler's dates, I have discovered no error, while in column J, where Mr. Myres gives his own dates, there is one trifling error in addition. Thus the date of the Rhodians, to whom twenty-three years are attributed, should be 790 or 780, not 800 or 790, and the dates for the Lydians, Pelasgians, and Thracians should be correspondingly reduced by ten years, and the interval allotted to the [Carians] increased by ten years. None of these errors, except those in columns D and E, affects the documentary evidence, but they are all instructive as furnishing an example of the kind of error to which we are all liable in transferring figures from one setting to another. It will be observed that Mr. Myres has nowhere copied a figure incorrectly, but he has once overlooked a figure, once copied a wrong figure, and four times made a slight error in calculation. We need not hesitate to attribute similar errors to the ancients.

The figures given in the Armenian *Chronographia* present little difficulty. All except two are confirmed either by Syncellus or by the Armenian *Canons*. The two exceptions are the thirty-three years of the Cyprians and the forty-five years of the Phoenicians. Forty-five years are, however, attributed to the Phoenicians in codex F of Jerome, a manuscript which is notoriously the result of a deliberate recension. As the figure forty-five does not belong to Jerome's text and cannot be obtained by simple subtraction, it is practically certain that it was obtained by a reference to the original Greek. This renders it probable that F is also following the Greek in attributing thirty-two years to the Cyprians, who are assigned thirty-three years in the Armenian *Chronographia*, and twenty-three years in Jerome. In the text of F, they are spread over the period 1150–1181, and are thus made to last thirty-one years. The figure thirty-three attributed to the Cyprians is therefore the only doubtful figure in the list; but we still have the lost figures for the Egyptians, Milesians, Carians, Lesbians, and Samians to make good as best we can. When we consider the state in which the Armenian *Chronographia* has descended to us, we can infer nothing as to the original from the absence of some of the figures from our existing manuscripts. It is probable that the right margin of some ancestor of the existing Armenian manuscripts was torn. As the extant figures of the Armenian *Chronographia* are with the

one exception mentioned confirmed by figures derived from the *Canons*, it is probable that the lost figures would also agree with the figures of the *Canons*.

Syncellus, as being in the Greek language, has a special value for the reconstruction of the lost Greek *Canons*. That his data are in this case derived from the *Canons*, not from the *Chronographia*, is clear from the way in which they are introduced, interspersed among historical events, and generally among those events which stand close to the notices of the different thalassocracies in the *Chronici canones*.[4] Mr. Myres urges that Syncellus must have used the *Chronographia* for his figures for the Naxians, because, as he thinks, the Naxians were omitted from the *Canons*. But this omission is merely an inference from the date assigned to the Eretrians in the Armenian *Canons*, which Mr. Myres took as 1505, but which, as we have seen, should be 1514. The phraseology in which Eusebius recorded the various thalassocracies differs widely, and a comparison of the notices in Syncellus with those in Jerome will show how closely Syncellus followed the text of his authority. The following table contains the text of all notices of thalassocracies, common both to Syncellus and to Jerome:—

Syncellus.	*Jerome.*
Λυδοὶ οἱ καὶ Μαίονες ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη ϟβ'.	Lydi mare obtinuerunt.
Πελασγοὶ β' ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη πε'.	Pelasgi mare obtinuerunt.
Τρίτοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Θρᾷκες ἔτη οθ'.	Tertio mare obtinuerunt Thraces ann XVIIII.
Θρᾷκες ἐθαλασσοκράτουν.	Thraces mare obtinuerunt
τέταρτοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Ῥόδιοι, κατὰ δέ τινας πέμπτοι, ἔτη κγ'.	Quarto mare obtinuerunt Rhodii ann XXIII.
Φρύγες πέμπτοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη κε', κατὰ δέ τινας ἔτη ϛ'.	Quinto mare obtinuerunt Phryges ann XXV.
Ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Αἰγινῆται ἔτη ι'.	XVII mare obtinuerunt Aeginetae. ann XX.

It will be observed that in six instances out of the seven the two agree in the relative order of the subject and the verb. The double entry of the Thracian thalassocracy, triple in Jerome, is particularly striking, and it is significant that the phraseology of the two entries varies in the same way in both writers. This makes it clear that the entry was already duplicated in Eusebius. Such duplicate entries are common: the explanation probably is that in addition to the date which he had himself calculated by dead-reckoning, Eusebius found in some source a date already correlated to some neighbouring date in his table. The only figures peculiar to Syncellus are the obviously incorrect twelve and seven attributed to the Lacedaemonians and Eretrians respectively, and the alternative figure six for the Phrygians. With this last we must compare the alternative ordinal V for the Rhodians.

[4] From the position of the thalassocracies in relation to neighbouring events in Syncellus, we get a vague indication of their position in the text of Eusebius which he had before him. This will be found useful in determining Eusebius date for the Aeginetans.

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This may be due, as Mr. Myres suggests, to the inclusion in some lists of the Carians as the first thalassocrats, or it may be explained by the double reckoning of the Thracians, the immediate predecessors of the Rhodians.

We now come to the figures preserved in the two versions of the *Chronici canones*, and are immediately confronted by the extensive omissions in the notices presented to us. That no such omissions existed in the Greek text of the *Canons* is clear from the fact that each thalassocracy is to be found in at least one of the three documents, Syncellus, the Armenian *Canons*, and Jerome. The omission of several notices from the Armenian version need occasion no surprise, since, as we have seen, omissions are very frequent in that version. The omissions from Jerome do not admit of such an easy explanation. Either these notices could not have stood in the same column with ordinary events in the Greek Eusebius, or there must have been some motive for passing them over when copying the notices of ordinary events. A probable explanation is afforded by the difference of inks of which traces are preserved in a few extant manuscripts. Ordinary notices in Jerome are in black ink, but in the Bodleian manuscript, a fifth century manuscript of a fourth century book, all the notices of thalassocracies are in red ink except that of the Lydians, which is in black, and that of the Cyprians, which is omitted altogether. The Fleury fragments (S), perhaps also of the fifth century, have the notice of the Pelasgi in red ink, but the notice of the Lydians and the second and third notices of the Thracians in black. Elsewhere they are defective. The notice of the Pelasgi is also in red ink in N, a descendant of S, and there is an erased entry in large red letters at this place in the Valenciennes manuscript (A, seventh century), but there is now no notice at all of the Pelasgian thalassocracy in that manuscript. Finally, in the London manuscript (L, tenth century), in which, as we have seen, the general arrangement of the work has been transformed, the notice of the Lydian thalassocracy is in red ink, while the notices of the remaining thalassocracies are in black ink, but the first notice of the Thracian, and the notices of the Rhodian, Cyprian, and Phoenician thalassocracies, are made to stretch across the columns, whereas ordinary events are confined to a space marked out for them. We may, therefore, safely conclude that all the thalassocracies were originally entered by Jerome in red ink. It is impossible to say whether this use of red ink goes back to Eusebius. Jerome seems to assert in his preface,[5] that the alternation between red and black columns was introduced by him to remedy a confusion that had arisen in the Greek manuscripts. But it does not follow from this that the distinction of colours was altogether new. Anyhow, the red ink in which the notices of thalassocracies were written must indicate something which distinguished them from other entries in Eusebius, and which prevented them from being copied out along with the other entries. It is possible that they were entered by Eusebius in the margin. This would explain their omission by Jerome even after the place where the arrangement of the work is altered (511 B.C.). The

[5] P. 2, ll. 28-30 (Schoene).

theory that these notices were inserted by Jerome separately from the other entries will explain not only the omission of some thalassocracies, but the displacement of others. We shall see reason for thinking that the Lydian thalassocracy has been displaced not merely in relation to the columns of figures (the *fila regnorum*), but in relation to other entries in the column for events. The Rhodian thalassocracy has been inserted in the column which Eusebius usually reserves for sacred history, and the Aeginetan thalassocracy has been inserted in the place which ought, apparently, to belong to the Naxian. The use of red ink or whatever feature in Eusebius is represented by the red ink in Jerome was probably intended to indicate that the thalassocracies belonged to the chronological framework of the book or at least formed a chronological system by themselves; it at all events differentiates them from the ordinary isolated events that appear in the two columns of events. This being so, we should expect the intervals between the dates assigned to the thalassocracies to correspond with the recorded durations of the thalassocracies.

But in the Armenian *Canons* there is not a single instance where the intervals given in the text exactly agree with the differences between the dates either of two consecutive or two more distant thalassocracies. In the general confusion of the chronology of this version, such a discrepancy need not alarm us. The case with Jerome's version is slightly different. The critical apparatus now available for the text of this version is somewhat larger than that possessed by Schone. The dates given in the Bodleian manuscript for the thalassocracies differ from Schöne's in six instances. Thus the Bodleian manuscript has 1016 for the first notice and 1054 for the third notice of the Thracian thalassocracy, 1100 for the Rhodian, 1125 for the Phrygian, 1234 for the Egyptian, and 1347 for the Lesbian. Of these figures all except the first are well supported by other manuscripts and are certainly the true text of Jerome. For the first notice of the Thracian thalassocracy the best manuscripts other than the Bodleian vary between 1010, 1011, and 1012. The Bodleian manuscript also omits the Cyprian confederacy, but there can be no doubt that Schöne is right in inserting it and that he has inserted it against the right date. The Bodleian manuscript further assigns seventeen instead of eighteen years to the Milesians, but it meets with no support, and is certainly in error. If we adopt the readings recommended above, we find two instances in each of which the length of a series of thalassocracies, obtained by adding their individual durations, agrees with the interval between the dates assigned for the commencement and the close of the series. But in order to effect this, we must adopt the figure 32, which, as we have seen, was probably borrowed by F from the Greek, for the duration of the Cyprian thalassocracy, and the figure 61 assigned by the Armenian version to the Carian thalassocracy, the duration of which is not specified by Jerome. Thus from the beginning of the Rhodian to the end of the Cyprian thalassocracy the number of years should be $23+25+32=80=1180-1100$, and from the beginning of the Milesian to the end of the Carian thalassocracy the number should be $18+61=79=1347-1268$. There is therefore reason for regarding

1100, 1180, 1268, 1347, as not merely Jerome's dates, but Eusebius's, on the assumption that in Eusebius the intervals between the dates agreed with the specified durations in each case. It is now possible with the assistance of the figures already verified by the agreement of the Armenian *Chronographia* with Syncellus to reconstruct the earlier part of the chronological scheme of Eusebius as follows :—

	Duration	Date in years of Abraham	Date B.C.
I. Lydi.	92	844	1172
II. Pelasgi.	85	936	1089
III. Thraces.	79	1021	995
IV. Rhodii.	23	1100	916
V. Phryges.	25	1123	893
VI. Cyprii.	32	1148	868
VII. Phoenices.	45	1180	836
VIII. Aegyptii.	43	1225	791
IX. Milesii.	18	1268	748
X. Cares.	61	1286	730
XI. Lesbii.	68 (?)	1347	669

It will be observed that while the dates given in Jerome and the Armenian do not agree in a single instance, the dates given above, which have been made to agree with Jerome in four instances out of seven, also agree with the Armenian in one instance out of five. Furthermore, except in the case of Jerome's date for the Pelasgi, this table nowhere implies that an event should have been shifted by more than ten years either in the Armenian or in Jerome's version from the date supposed to have been assigned by Eusebius, and in the majority of cases the implied shifting is very slight. Jerome in his preface seems to suggest that some such confusion had already arisen in copies of the *Canons*, and, as we have seen, it is an exceedingly common error so long as it does not affect the order of notices in a column. That a shifting of two years has taken place at the beginning of the series is manifest. Immediately after the notice of the Lydian thalassocracy, against the same date 842, we read 'Mycenis post necem Aegisti Orestes regnavit ann. XV..' while seventeen years later, against 859,[6] we read 'Mycenis regnavit Tisamenus filius Orestis.' It follows therefore that either the accession of Tisamenus has been shifted downwards or the accession of Orestes, and with it the Lydian thalassocracy, has been shifted upwards.

The Pelasgic thalassocracy stands in the Armenian *Canons* next before the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, which is followed by a notice of the Amazon invasion of Asia; in Jerome it comes much later. Now there are two notices of Peloponnesian invasions of Attica about this place in Jerome, but the one that stands against the year 937 is the one that is followed by the notice of the Amazons. If then the Armenian version has retained the original order of these notices, Eusebius must have placed the Pelasgic thalassocracy in or shortly before 937, a date which agrees well with the

[6] So the Bodleian manuscript. The Fleury fragments have 860.

one suggested in the table above. It will be remembered that the change in the order of events which must here have taken place in Jerome is highly improbable except on the theory here advanced that the thalassocracies were added after the other events had been recorded in their proper places.

The erroneous date for the Thracians in Jerome may be explained on the supposition that his scribe entered the event against the figure XVIII or XXIII instead of XXVIII in the column of Lacedaemonian kings, an easy mistake in a confessedly hasty work.[7] The second and third dates for the Thracians, to which no numerals are attached, obviously do not belong to the series of dates under discussion. The date 1125, which is only two years in error, needs no explanation. Schone's date 1123, derived from the worthless Bern manuscript, is only right by accident. The date 1152 would seem to have been shifted a little further than usual, but it should be observed that F has 1150, and that there is a very long notice under the year 1142 in Jerome, which may have made it difficult for some of his copyists to begin a new notice under 1148. 1234 instead of 1225 for the Egyptians may be the 9th year of Psammis instead of the 9th year of Osorthon: such a change could be made the more easily if the notice originally stood in the margin, against the Egyptian column. It is interesting to observe that Schöne quotes ABFP in favour of this passage standing in the margin in Jerome's version instead of in the column for events. The substitution of 1296 for 1286 admits of an equally simple explanation. Jerome has erroneously entered the death of Bocchoris at the hands of Sabacon against the first year of Sebichos (1294) instead of against the first year of Sabacon (1282). The Carian thalassocracy, which is the next entry, appears to have been shifted along with the death of Bocchoris. Thus it retains its proper place in relation to other entries in the same column, but is dated ten years too late. That both errors were made by Jerome, not Eusebius, is proved by a reference to the Armenian version, where both entries appear in their proper place.

So far then as each successive thalassocracy is noted in Jerome's *Canons*, there is no difficulty in restoring the text of Eusebius and explaining the errors that have crept into it. The remainder of the series can best be restored by beginning at the end and working backwards. It is clear from the words in which the last thalassocracy (that of the Aeginetans) is entered in the *Canons*, closing with 'usque ad transitum Xerxis,' that the list was meant to end with the expedition of Xerxes. This last thalassocracy lasted ten years, as is proved by the concurrent testimony of the Armenian *Chronographia*, the Armenian *Canons*, and Syncellus, and it therefore follows that Jerome's version is seriously in error in making it begin in 1508 (508 B.C.). The date given in the Armenian *Canons*, 1531 (=485 B.C.), is exactly ten years before the date of Plataea and Mycale as preserved in Jerome, though only five years before the date assigned to the destruction of Athens. It is therefore consistent with the principles on which Eusebius

[7] 'Tumultuarium opus' P. 1. 1. 14 (Schone).

arranged his chronology, and, as we shall see presently, it is confirmed by other figures. In Syncellus the notice of this thalassocracy immediately follows a notice of Gelon, which is placed in Jerome against the year 1530, a piece of evidence of little importance in itself, but valuable as confirming the Armenian *Canons*. Taking this date as a starting point, and working with the figures of the Armenian *Chronographia*, which we have found to be confirmed by figures derived from the *Canons*, we obtain the following series:—

	Duration	Date in years of Abraham	Date B.C.
XIV. Lacedaemonii.	2	1504	512
XV. Naxii.	10	1506	510
XVI. Eretrienses.	15	1516	500
XVII. Aeginetae.	10	1531	485

This gives us for the Lacedaemonians a date differing by one year only, and for the Eretrians a date differing by two years only, from those of the Armenian *Canons*. As we have already seen, small errors like these are the almost necessary result of the method in which the *Canons* are constructed. It is also important to observe that the date thus obtained for the Naxians differs by two years only from Jerome's date for the Aeginetans. This renders it probable that Jerome or his amanuensis, after taking his eye off his Greek original, while red ink was being substituted for black, allowed it to be caught by an entry similar to the one which he wished to insert, and so the Aeginetan thalassocracy was entered where the Naxian thalassocracy should have been. It is also possible that the entry may have been made either in Jerome or in the Greek manuscript used by him under 1508 instead of 1506, because a long entry under 1505 occupied the whole space belonging to the years 1505, 1506, and 1507.

It is difficult to determine with certainty the dates assigned by Eusebius to the Phocaean and Samian thalassocracies. The dates 1441 and 1486 in the Armenian *Canons* agree so well with the 44 years' duration of the Phocaean thalassocracy that it is impossible to suppose that they contain any serious error. The date 1441 receives confirmation as an approximate date from Syncellus, who mentions the Phocaean thalassocracy immediately after the seven wise men (1438 in Jerome) and immediately before the Nemean games (1444 in Jerome). We are therefore compelled to abandon Jerome's 68 years for the Lesbians, while the 96 years of a single Armenian manuscript are, as Mr. Myres observes, calculated from the dates assigned to the thalassocracies in the Armenian version, and are therefore of no value for the text of Eusebius. At the same time we have no evidence for the duration of the Samian thalassocracy apart from the date assigned to it in the Armenian *Canons*. Accordingly, the dates 1441 and 1486 cannot be checked by means either of earlier or of later dates in the series, and as the Armenian *Canons* cannot be trusted for an exact year, both dates may contain a slight error. In any case, one of the two must be wrong, since, as they stand, they would give a duration of 45 instead of 44 years for the Phocaean

thalassocracies. The Samian thalassocracy is certainly connected with the tyranny of Polycrates, which Jerome dates 1484,[8] but, as Mr. Myres observes, this date was probably taken by Eusebius from some source other than his list of thalassocracies. It is also interesting to observe that the notice of the Samian thalassocracy appears in the Armenian *Canons* between that of Pythagoras (1487 in Jerome) and that of Hipparchus (1489 in Jerome). By combining these last two dates with those quoted above from Syncellus for the Phocaean thalassocracy, we get 1443 and 1487 or 1444 and 1488 as the dates of the Phocaean and Samian thalassocracies, of which the former pair most closely approximate to the dates given in the Armenian *Canons*; but the calculation is rather precarious, and we must be content to leave the exact dates assigned by Eusebius to these thalassocracies an open question.

We are now in a position to complete our table of thalassocracies, leaving the exact duration doubtful in two instances. The complete list will be as follows :—

	Duration	Date in years of Abraham	Date B.C.
I. Lydi.	92	844	1172
II. Pelasgi.	85	936	1080
III. Thraces	79	1021	995
IV. Rhodii.	23	1100	916
V. Phryges.	25	1123	893
VI. Cypri.	32	1148	868
VII. Phoenices.	45	1180	836
VIII. Aegyptii.	43	1225	791
IX. Milesii	18	1268	748
X. Cares.	61	1286	730
XI. Lesbii	96 (?)	1347	669
XII. Phocaeenses.	44	1443 (?)	573 (?)
XIII. Samii.	17 (?)	1487 (?)	529 (?)
XIV. Lacedaemonii.	2	1504	512
XV. Naxii.	10	1506	510
XVI. Eretrienses	15	1516	500
XVII. Aeginetae	10	1531	485
	——	−1541	−475
	697		

It is important to notice that the series thus obtained is calculated entirely from figures derived ultimately from the *Canons*, the *Chronographia* having been used for corroboration only; but as the series accords almost exactly with the extant figures of the *Chronographia*, it is probable that it correctly supplies the figures missing from the surviving manuscripts. If we wish to go behind Eusebius to his authorities, we must set aside the dates given above and concentrate our attention on the durations, and we must remember that the series ought to end, not in 475 B.C., but in 480 B.C., the true date of the expedition of Xerxes. It ought in consequence to extend back to 1177 B.C., only four years after the date assigned by

[8] So the Bodleian and Berlin manuscripts (MO).

Eusebius to the fall of Troy; and one is tempted to suppose that the compiler gave some explanation of the three intervening years, so as to bring his list back to the fall of Troy itself, and to complete a total of 700 years.

It will be observed that from the Phocaeans onwards the duration of each thalassocracy, according to the figures given in the table above, corresponds with its duration as obtained by Mr. Myres. Nor is it possible to dispute the historical facts with which Mr. Myres connects each of these thalassocracies. It will also be observed that there is a tendency for a thalassocracy to end in some disaster to the power that held it. Thus the Phocaean thalassocracy ends in the capture of Phocaea by the Persians in 534 B.C., the Samian thalassocracy with the death of Polycrates in or about 517 B.C., and the Eretrian thalassocracy with the fall of Eretria in 490 B.C. The Lesbian period should cover the years 674–578 B.C., the period in which the ancients were accustomed to place the glorious names belonging to Lesbos, including Lesches at the beginning, followed by Terpander, Arion, Pittacus, Sappho, and Alcaeus. It is not easy to explain a Carian sea-power in 735–674 B.C., but it may be connected with the Carian mercenaries in the service of Psammetichus. There is, however, no difficulty in explaining a Milesian thalassocracy in 753–735 B.C. It is the age of colonization. The beginning of the thalassocracy is connected in Eusebius with the foundation of Naucratis, and is immediately followed by a notice of Thales. The notice of the foundation of Trapezus[9] in 755 B.C. probably belongs to the same system of chronology, with the accuracy of which we are not concerned. It is important to note that the foundation of Naucratis in Egypt is the starting point of this thalassocracy. The compiler seems to have regarded this event as a symptom of the downfall of Egyptian sea-power and the establishment of a Milesian power in its place, and it is significant to observe that the Milesians are in the list preceded by the Egyptians. We have thus three successive thalassocracies, the Egyptian, the Milesian, and the Carian, assumed from evidence (more or less slight) of power in the Egyptian delta.

The importance of the Egyptian thalassocracy seems to lie mainly in its downfall. The period assigned to it, 796–753 B.C., is not marked by any events in Egyptian history, famous among the Greeks, except perhaps the reign of the Egyptian Hercules (799–792 B.C. in Eusebius) and the reign of Bocchoris, who seems to have enjoyed a celebrity quite out of relation to his real importance, and whom Eusebius dates 779–735 B.C. It is interesting to observe that the 43 years which Eusebius assigned to this thalassocracy, according to the text as restored in this article, correspond closely with the 44 years which he attributes to Bocchoris. On the other hand, the dates both of the Egyptian Hercules and of Bocchoris profess to be based on Manetho, whose system of chronology does not seem to have come into general use till after the time of Diodorus, from whom the list of thalas-

[9] So the Armenian version and Syncellus. Jerome has 'Cyzicus.'

socracies is derived. It may therefore be necessary to set aside these synchronisms as mere coincidences.

With the Phoenician thalassocracy we appear to be once more upon safe ground. The period 841–796 B.C. contains the dates assigned to the foundation of Carthage by Trogus Pompeius, Velleius Paterculus, Timaeus, and Servius.[10] It ought also to include the date cited by Josephus[11] from Tyrian sources. He gives a detailed scheme of Phoenician chronology from Hiram to Pygmalion, and a total of 143 years and 8 months for the period from the building of the temple at Jerusalem to the foundation of Carthage. According to the received chronology, Solomon's temple was begun in 1012 and completed in 1005 B.C., but it is clear from Assyrian references to Ahab and Jehu that these dates are 43 years too high. This would reduce the Tyrian date of the foundation of Carthage to 1012 or 1005–43 – 143 = 826 or 819 B.C. The period in which the most famous event of Phoenician maritime history falls was naturally made a period of Phoenician thalassocracy. But before the Phoenician period all is darkness. The only tangible event that it seems possible to connect with any of the earlier sea-powers is the Thracian conquest of Bebrycia or Bithynia, which Eusebius places in 972 B.C., and which therefore falls within the Thracian thalassocracy. It is at all events clear that the list as Eusebius found it was correlated to the general chronological tradition which he follows, and the presumption is that the list was arranged to conform to some of the better known dates in this tradition and that other dates were made to conform to the list.

It is difficult to say when the list was drawn up. Mr. Myres's arguments for a fifth century date are far from convincing; our list bears little resemblance to any scheme presupposed in the narrative of Thucydides.[12] His sketch of nautical history includes western as well as eastern sea-power, and where it gives dates they do not tally with those of our list. He begins with a Corinthian sea-power, and mentions the building of triremes for the Samians by a Corinthian ship-builder at a date (704 B.C.) which the list places in the Carian period. The Corinthian sea-power would seem, according to his narrative, to have been continuous. It is true that he knows of Ionian sea-power 'later' than the Corinthian in the time of Cyrus and Cambyses, thus tacitly denying a Milesian sea-power in the eighth century B.C. Of the two Ionian states that he mentions, the Samians are indeed connected both by Thucydides and by the extant list with the reign of Cambyses, but the only event that he connects with the Phocaeans by name, the founding of Massalia, falls outside the period of their sea-power as given in the list. It is possible that the survey of sea-power in Thucydides may have suggested the idea of framing a list of thalassocracies. In that case the present list, which is not made to conform to Thucydides, is not the earliest. But it seems vain to pursue the inquiry further. This article will have served its purpose if its

[10] See the table in Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i. 531.

[11] c. Ap. i. 17, 18.

[12] i. 13.

attempt to determine the figures in the list which Eusebius derived from Diodorus is successful. I do not regard the list as of any great historical value. There may be something behind it which has not yet been discovered; but inquiries into its value are bound to be fruitless, unless the restoration of the list is regarded as a problem of textual criticism, independent of historical explanations.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

PEPARETHUS AND ITS COINAGE

[PLATE IV.]

THE Plate which illustrates this article represents a series of silver coins, Nos. 1–8, which bear a strong family likeness. They are all tetradrachms of the Euboic standard, and each displays on the obverse a peculiar bunch of grapes which would have excited even the infantine ridicule of the humblest painter of Dutch fruit-pieces. Two of these coins, Pl. IV. 2 and 8, both recent acquisitions of the British Museum, are unpublished, and present new types. Nos. 9–11 are bronze coins of Peparethus.

In type and style the most remarkable of these coins is Pl. IV. 1 = Fig. A. This piece was found in the island of Cos, but Mr. Barclay Head, who first made it known in 1891,[1] attributed it in a very ingenious and learned paper to Cyrene. This attribution carried with it the assignment to Cyrene of the types here figured as Pl. IV. 3 (and 5), 4 (and 6), because all three types were found to be united together by a concatenation of dies. In a paper printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,[2] shortly after Mr. Head's, I ventured to point out—without suggesting any better attribution—that the great difficulty in this classification was that all the known coins of the African city bore as their type the silphium-plant, or, at least, a leaf or seed representative of that plant: it seemed difficult to fit into the Cyrenian currency a bunch of grapes, a winged figure, a helmet and a head of Herakles. A distinguished numismatist, M. Waddington, to whom at the time. I mentioned the proposed attribution, told me that he thought, in spite of Mr. Head's excellent article, these grape-coins would turn out to be Euboean or Macedonian.

Writing in this *Journal* in 1897 Mr. Hill suggested the Macedonian Chalcidice as the probable home of the coins. About 1904, a specimen with the helmet reverse was procured by its owner near Salonica. Subsequently Mr. A. J. B. Wace obtained in Scopelos, *i.e.* the ancient Peparethus, the island lying beyond the coast of Thessalian Magnesia, specimens of the helmet and Herakles reverses; and in 1906 another specimen of the Herakles was shown at the British Museum by its owner, who stated that it was found in the same island.

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 1. [2] 1892, p. 20.

Finally, in 1906, the British Museum acquired the coin Pl. IV. 2 = Fig. C. This coin bears the letters ΠΕ already seen on the bronze coins of Peparethus, displays like them Dionysiac types, and was found in Scopelos. Its attribution to Peparethus is, thus, hardly open to doubt, and the coin has numismatic importance as showing that this island coined silver, as well as bronze money, and that its coinage began somewhat early in the fifth century.

Unfortunately this inscribed coin cannot be held to *prove* that the grape-coins previously referred to belong to Peparethus, for the bunch of grapes on its obverse is not identical with the bunches on the other coins. It seems, however, to strengthen their attribution to this island, an attribution first suggested by the provenance of some of the specimens. In this paper I shall therefore venture to adopt as a probable hypothesis the Peparethian origin of all the grape-coins, except, perhaps, in the case of the coin Pl. IV. 8.[3]

The island which chose the bunch of grapes as its principal badge, though less famous than Naxos or Thera, was in legend declared to have been colonized by Cretans under an appropriately named leader, Staphylos, the son of Dionysos and Ariadne. Dionysos was its principal divinity, and Staphylos is still the name of a bay of the island.[4] It is first mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. In antiquity it was well wooded; it grew corn and olives and exported a well-known wine.[5] At the present day it sends a light, red wine of its production to Constantinople and the Black Sea ports. There were three towns in the island, namely, Peparethus, the most important place, now called, like the whole island, Scopelos; Selinus, and a harbour-town, Panormus.

Coming now to the more precise attribution of our coins, it is probably not rash to assume that the chief minting-place was the town Peparethus. We may assign to it the inscribed coin with the seated Dionysos, No. V.[6] (Pl. IV. 2) and the bronze coins, Pl. IV. 9–11. One would suppose also that the coin, Pl. IV. 1, with a fine figure-subject (Fig. A) was likewise issued from the same mint. But to what mint are we to assign the Herakles-head, the helmet and the ivy-wreath, each of which has a bunch of grapes as its obverse? There seems some difficulty in assigning so many reverse-types to the same town during a period (apparently) of about forty or fifty years; and

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[3] Peparethus is not the only provenance recorded for these coins. They have been found in Cos, in Macedonia (Salonica), and in Thessaly. Cos may safely be ruled out as the mint-place of these coins, for they in no way amalgamate with the already well-known series of Coan money. Some coast-town of Thessaly, or, better, of Macedonia would have a fair claim to the coins, if the attribution to Peparethus is unacceptable. The helmet-reverse is rather distinctively Macedonian and the winged figure (Fig. A) has been compared (by Mr. Hill, *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 79) with the winged figure with a wreath on a Macedonian (?) coin.

[4] On Peparethus, see Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. pp. 386 f.; C. Fredrich, 'Skiathos und Peparethos' in *Mittheil. arch. Inst.* (Athens) xxxi. (1906) p. 99 f. and references there; cp. Wace, *ib.* p. 129 f. 'Skiathos und Skopelos'; Murray's *Handbook for Greece*, pp. 931 f.

[5] On the wine, Demosth. *In Lacrit.* p. 935; Soph. *Philoct.* 548; Heracl. Pont. Fragm. 13; Athen. i. p. 29 a and f; Pliny, *H.N.* xiv. 7. 76.

[6] The Roman numerals refer to the descriptive list of the coins given at the end of this article.

I at first thought that the Herakles and helmet types—specimens of which were ascertained by Mr. Wace to have been found on the site of Selinus—might be attributed to that town. This provenance, however, in a small island, is not decisive as to origin, and bearing in mind the way in which this series of coins is linked together by the interchange of dies, I think the safest course is to suppose that they were all struck at a single mint-place, namely the town Peparethus.

The only exception may be the coin No. VI. (Pl. IV. 8). It has a specially marine character. On the obverse, four dolphins are added to the simple bunch of grapes, and the reverse is a dolphin-rider. These types might suit the harbour-town Panormus, but, on the other hand, this coin—at present unique—is stated to have been found in Thessaly, at Demetrias, near Volo, and the addition of the dolphins to the bunch of grapes, which seems to be the badge of Peparethus, rather suggests that the coin does not belong to this island but to an adjacent island or, perhaps, to some coast-town of Magnesia, where Dionysiac types are already known from the coins.

Date and types.—I have already mentioned that several coins in our series show a curious concatenation of dies. The importance of systematically studying the identities of dies has lately become more widely recognized: Dr. Regling, for instance, in his recent admirable monograph on the coinage of Terina has carefully noted the relationship of the various dies, and gained thereby good clues to the exact chronological sequence of the coins. In the present case, it will be found that the die for the grapes-obverse of the winged figure coin (No. I.) has been used for the obverse of a Herakles coin (No. II. A). Again, the grapes-die found in conjunction with the Herakles coin, II. D is used as the obverse of III. (the helmet type), and also for the obverse of IV. (the ivy-wreath type). The relation of the dies may be set forth as follows, identical letters indicating identical dies:—

No.	I.	(Winged figure)	*Obv.*	*a.*	*Rev.*	A.
,,	II. A.	(Herakles)	,,	*a.*	,,	B.
,,	II. D.	Herakles	,,	*β.*	,,	B.
,,	III.	(Helmet)	,,	*β.*	,,	C.
,,	IV.	Ivy-wreath	,,	*β.*	,,	D.

This examination of the dies suggests that Nos. I and II. A are nearly of the same date. In the Herakles-series, II. D is later (but not much later) than II. A. The helmet-type III. and the ivy-wreath type IV. are both contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the Herakles-type II. D.

No. V. seated Dionysos and No. VI. dolphin-rider do not share in this interchange of dies.

No. I. (Pl. IV. 1 = Fig. A) Mr. Hill has well suggested[7] the name of Agon—a male personification corresponding to Nike—for the reverse type. This little running figure is executed with all the minuteness of gem-

[7] *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 80.

engraving, but is full of elastic vigour. In some respects it recalls the Poseidon of the coins of Poseidonia[8] and has some affinities with the Nike of of Elis[9] and the running Nike of Cyzicus.[10] All these are early coins, and I think our Agon can hardly be later than *circ.* B.C. 500–490. The type is, apparently, not Dionysiac, and it is hard to suggest the reason of its choice.

No. II. (Pl. IV. 3 and 5: Fig. B). The Herakles head has an aspect unusual on coins. It is delicately treated but has the bulging eyes and simpering smile found in representations of Herakles on early vases and other monuments. It may be compared in style with the Dionysos head on an archaic coin of Sicilian Naxos.[11] This type (in its earliest manifestation, Pl. IV. 3) must be placed soon after the Agon coin (No. I.), of which it has borrowed the obverse-die. Perhaps the date is *circ.* B.C. 490. The variety of this coin (Pl. IV. 5), where the obverse-die is changed so as to present three bunches of grapes, must be somewhat later, B.C. 490–485 (?).

No. III. (Pl. IV. 4 and 6) introduces a new reverse—the helmet, but the obverse die is borrowed from No. II. D (Herakles). We may date it, approximately, B.C. 485–480. The significance of the helmet is not obvious: it is a type that is chiefly familiar on Macedonian coins.[12]

No. IV. (Pl. IV. 7). The reverse does not, so far as I know, find a parallel in any other coin-type. We might be content to explain it as a mere Dionysiac emblem, but it may perhaps be preferably described as a votive wreath. We know from Athenaeus[13] that the Peparethians dedicated at Delphi a golden ivy-wreath—*στέφανον χρυσοῦν κιττοῦ Πεπαρηθίων.* The date of this dedication is not known: in the same sentence some other Delphian dedications are recorded including a laurel-wreath of the Ephesians and four golden *στλεγγίδια* offered by the people of Sybaris. If we could assume that all these *anathemata* were made on the same occasion, the date of the offering could be approximately fixed as not later than B.C. 510, the date of the destruction of Sybaris. This ivy-leaf reverse is joined with an obverse-die borrowed from the helmet-coin (No. III.) so that it must be nearly contemporary; *circ.* B.C. 480 (?).

No. V. (Pl. IV. 2; Fig. C). Seated figures are rare on archaic coins and even until the age of Alexander the Great: notable instances are the seated Zeus of Aetna,[14] *circ.* B.C. 476–461 and the Harmonia (?) seated on a diphros on a coin of Thebes, *circ.* B.C. 446.[15] Our seated Dionysos shows the heavy treatment of the figure found on archaic sculptured reliefs of a similar

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[8] Head, *Guide to Coins of Ancients*, Pl. VII. 12

[9] P. Gardner, *Types*, Pl. III. 14.

[10] Wroth. B. M. Cat *Mysia*, Pl. IV. 7 and 9.

[11] Hill *Coins of anc. Sicily*, Pl. I. 3. Cp. also the head of a warrior on a Lycian coin. B.C. 500-469 in Hill, B. M. Cat. *Lycia*. Pl. II. 7.

[12] Svoronos, *Journ. internat. d'arch. Num.* 1905, p. 341.

[13] Theopompus ap. Athen. xiii. 605 B, C., quoted by Rouse, *Greek votive offerings*, p. 281.

[14] Hill, *Coins of anc. Sicily*, Pl. IV. 13.

[15] Head, *Guide to Coins of Ancients*, Pl. XIII. 15 and B. M. Cat. *Central Greece*, p. 72.

character, and might, independently of its obverse, be placed very early in the fifth century. It is accompanied however, by an obverse which is plainly later than any of those previously described, for on this obverse the bunch of grapes is less crudely represented and an inscription (ΠΕ) makes its appearance. I would therefore date the coin *circ.* B.C. 480–470.

The coin No. VI. (Pl. IV. 8) as I have already remarked is probably not of Peparethus. The four dolphins encircling the bunch of grapes were presumably suggested by the coins of Sicily, on which they appear first, at Syracuse, in the time of Gelon, *i.e. circ.* B.C. 485.[16] The dolphin-rider on the reverse is not satisfactorily preserved, but I am inclined to think that it is a female figure wearing a long chiton like Europa on her bull on the metope of Selinus or on the early coins of Cnossus: a *male* dolphin-rider is already known from an early coin (sixth or seventh century?) attributed by Svoronos to the island of Syros.[17] The date of our coin may be provisionally fixed as *circ.* B.C. 480.

Between *circ.* B.C. 470 and 400 there is a broad gap in the coinage of Peparethus. During this period the island was no doubt subordinate to Athens.[18] The bronze coin IX figured Pl. IV. 9 may be placed *circ.* B.C. 400. It displays a bearded head of Dionysos of good style. No. X. (Pl. IV. 10) shows a beardless Dionysos, perhaps of the third century.

No native coinage can be assigned to the island during the fourth century. In B.C. 377 the Peparethians are named among the allies of the Athenian Confederacy. In B.C. 361 the town of Peparethus was besieged by Alexander tyrant of Pherae and it is interesting to know that two of his silver coins have been discovered in Scopelos.[19] The island was afterwards laid waste by command of Philip II. of Macedon because the Peparethians had seized the island of Halonesus. At the end of the third century (B.C. 209–200) the town was contended for by Philip V. of Macedon, by Attalus of Pergamum, and by the Romans. The coin (Pl. IV. 11) doubtless belongs to the second or first century B.C. The worship of Athena, whose head appears on it, is known from other sources to have prevailed at the towns of Peparethus and Selinus.

In conclusion, I set forth the details that will be looked for by numismatic readers, some of whom may be able to carry farther than I have done the dating and attribution of this interesting but rather difficult series of coins.

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[16] A single dolphin was the badge of Ceos and on the coins it accompanies the distinctive types of the various towns of the island.

[17] *Journ. internat. d'arch. num.* 1900, p. 59; cp. Head, B. M. Cat. *Caria*, p. lix.

[18] See *I.G.* I. Index of Athenian Tributary Allies.

[19] Two coins (*dans le commerce*) shown at the British Museum in March 1906. A note of these was made by Mr. Hill, as follows — 1. *Obv.* Head of Hecate r. hair rolled; in front, arm holding torch. *Rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ Lion's head r.; below, double-axe, Æ Size ·7. Wt. 87·2 grains (similar to B. M. Cat. *Thessaly*, Pl. X. 12). 2. *Obv.* Wheel. *Rev.* A AE double-axe. Æ Size ·4. Wt. 12·6 grains.

I.—*Winged Figure Type.*

Obv. Bunch of grapes. Border of dots.

Rev. Winged male figure (Agon ?), naked, running r.; wears boots with tags; in each hand, wreath. Square compartment of dots. Whole in incuse square.

AR Size 1·05. Wt. 261 grains. **Pl. IV. 1** and **Fig. A.** In BRITISH MUSEUM, acquired in 1891 (B. V. Head, *Num. Chron.* 1891. p. 1: Pl. I.

FIG. A. (Scale 2 : 1.)

FIG. B. (Scale 2 : 1.)

3 'Cyrene'; Wroth, *Num. Chron.* 1892, p. 19; Hill. *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 79, 'Chalcidice' ?). *Found in Cos* together with Nos. II. B and III. B, an archaic tetradrachm of Athens, and an archaic tetradrachm of Mende.

Obverse from same die as No. II. A and II. B and II. C.

II.—*Herakles Type.*

Obv. Bunch of grapes. Border of dots.

Rev. Head of bearded Herakles l. in lion's skin. Square compartment of dots. Whole in incuse square.

A. In SIR H. WEBER'S COLL., LONDON. AR Size ·95. Wt. 265·5 grains. **Pl. IV. 3** and **Fig. B.** *Procured from Greece. Obv.* from same die as No. I.

B. In Museum of Fine Arts, BOSTON (originally in the Greenwell Coll.). AR Size ·9. 'Wt. 264·3 grains.' (B. V. Head, *Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 1, No. ii. Pl. I. 4 = Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, No. 1410; Pl. 32, Fig. 1410. The wt. is there stated to be 16·76 grammes. *Found in Cos* with No. I.

Obv. from same die as No. I. (*Obv.* and *rev.* same dies as II. A.)

C. In A PRIVATE COLLECTION. ℞ Size ·95. Wt. 17·15 grammes. (Svoronos, *Journal internat. d'arch. num.* 1905, p. 339, No. 4; Pl. XI. 22.) *Found on the site of Selinus in Peparethus* and obtained in the island by Mr. A. J. B. Wace; the statement, Svoronos, *l.c.* p. 340, that this coin (and III. A. infra) were found in Skiathos, is based on a misapprehension. (Information from Mr. Wace.)

Obv. from same die as No. I. *Obv.* (and *rev.?*) same dies as II. A and II. B.

The *obv.* of II. D and E next to be described differs from the *obv.* of II. A, B, C, in having a small bunch of grapes on each side of the large bunch.

D. In BRITISH MUSEUM, acquired in 1872 from Edward Wigan's collection. ℞ Size 1. Wt. 256 grains. **Pl. IV. 5.** (Head, *Num. Chron.* 1891, p. 1, No. iii. Pl. I. 5.) *Provenance unknown.*

Rev. from same die as II. A and II. B.

E. *Dans le commerce*, 1906. ℞ Euboic tetradrachm. *Found in Scopelos* (Peparethus).

Obv. and *rev.* from same dies as II. D.

III.—*Helmet Type.*

Obv. Bunch of grapes, flanked by two smaller bunches. Border of dots.
Rev. Crested Corinthian helmet r. within incuse square.

A. In A PRIVATE COLLECTION. ℞ tetradrachm. Wt. 16·75 grammes. (Svoronos, *l.c.* p. 339, No. 1, Pl. XI. 19.) **Pl. IV. 4.** *Found on the site of Selinus in Peparethus*, and obtained in the island by Mr. A. J. B. Wace. (Information from Mr. Wace.)

Obv. from same die as No. II. D.

B. In BRITISH MUSEUM, acquired 1891. ℞ Size 1·05. Wt. 253·4. (Head, *Num. Chron*, 1891, p. 2, No. iv. Pl. I. 6; wt. stated as 261·3 grains.) **Pl. IV. 6.** *Found in Cos* with No. I. etc.

Obv. and *rev.* from same dies as No. III. A.

C. In A PRIVATE COLLECTION? ℞ tetradrachm. Wt. 16·50 grammes. *Found*, by a native of Thessaly, *πρὸς νότον τοῦ Ὀλύμπου.* (Svoronos, *l.c.* p. 339, No. 2; Pl. xi. 20.)

Obv. and *rev.* from same dies as No. III. A.

D. *Dans le commerce.* ℞ tetradrachm, shown at the British Museum in 1904. *Obtained near Salonica.*

IV.—*Ivy-wreath Type.*

Obv. Bunch of grapes flanked by two smaller bunches. Border of dots. (Flaw in die, on r.)

Rev. Ornamental device consisting of a pellet surrounded by dots and four ivy-leaves arranged diagonally. (Votive ivy-wreath ?) Square compartment of dots. Whole in incuse square.

In A PRIVATE COLLECTION. Æ tetradrachm. Wt. 17·68 grammes. *Found* by a native of Thessaly, *πρὸς νότον τοῦ Ὀλύμπου.* (Svoronos, *l.c.* p. 339, No. 3; Pl. XI. 21.) **Pl. IV. 7.** (Casts of this and of No. III. A have been kindly supplied by M. Svoronos.)

Obv. from the same dies as Nos. II. D, E.

V.—*Seated Dionysos Type.*

Obv. Bunch of grapes, with slight indications of smaller bunch at each side. On l., ΠΕ (the Ε repeated through double-striking). Border of dots.

Rev. Dionysos with long beard and long hair, seated l. on diphros; himation over lower limbs; in outstretched r., kantharos; l. hand, resting on side,

FIG. C. (Scale 2 : 1.)

holds thyrsos. Square compartment of dots. Whole in incuse square. Æ plated with silver. Size 1·05. Wt. 220·3 grains. **Pl. IV. 2** and **Fig. C.** In BRITISH MUSEUM, purchased in 1906.

Found in Scopelos (Peparethus).

VI.—*Dolphin-rider Type.*

Obv. Bunch of grapes, around which four dolphins swimming.

Rev. Figure riding l. on dolphin (apparently a female figure wearing long chiton girt at waist); the type within an incuse square to which it is adjusted diagonally.

In BRITISH MUSEUM, purchased (together with No. V.) 1906. Æ Size 1·2. Wt. 259 grains. **Pl. IV. 8.** *Found at Demetrias in Thessaly.*

VII.–IX.—*Bronze Coins of Peparethus.*

VII. *Obv.* Head of bearded Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy.
Rev. Π Ε Kantharos; wreathed with vine-leaf and two bunches of grapes; circular incuse.

BRITISH MUSEUM, acquired in 1906. Æ Size ·55. *Found in Scopelos.* **Pl. IV. 9.**

VIII. *Obv.* Head of beardless Dionysos r., wreathed with ivy.
Rev. Π Ε Kantharos.

BRITISH MUSEUM, acquired in 1891. Æ Size ·45. *Obtained in Greece?* **Pl. IV. 10.**

IX. *Obv.* Head of Athena r. in helmet.
Rev. Π Ε Bunch of grapes.
Π Α

BRITISH MUSEUM, acquired in 1891. Æ Size ·55. *Obtained in Greece?* **Pl. IV. 11.**

(For other bronze coins of Peparethus, see Gardner, B.M. Cat. *Thessaly*, etc. *s.v.* Peparethus; Macdonald, *Hunter Cat.* I. p. 460.)

WARWICK WROTH.

A SARCOPHAGUS OF THE SIDAMARA TYPE IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK, BART., AND THE INFLUENCE OF STAGE ARCHITECTURE UPON THE ART OF ANTIOCH.

[PLATES V.—XII.]

IN the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Doughty House, Richmond, are nine fragments of a large sarcophagus of surpassing interest for the modern scientific history of art. They were identified some two years ago by Mrs. Arthur Strong, who is engaged upon a new illustrated catalogue of the Richmond antiques[1] which is shortly to appear in this Journal. Mrs. Strong at once communicated to me the existence of a sarcophagus of so much importance for the studies I had initiated in my book *Orient oder Rom*, and, by the courtesy of the owner, I at the same time received a set of photographs of the nine fragments.

I shall first describe the fragments, determining at the same time, by comparison with kindred examples, the Art group to which they belong, and shall then endeavour to make clear their significance.

Of the nine fragments, which are all about the same height (3 ft. 3 in.) and thickness, eight are decorated with single figures executed in high relief and almost detached from the background, resembling, in fact, statues in niches. One fragment alone, which I will take first, forms an exception.

A.—Fig. 1 (height 2 ft. 7½ in., breadth 1 ft.). Here we see a door, in the opening of which is a table standing on four lion's feet; upon this is a circular altar, whence flames seem to rise. Over the door-lintel with its straight moulding is a ⊓ shaped upper member that displays, under broad dentils, a scroll-work of peculiar character. This panel supports a projecting impost and is decorated with the same scroll-work disposed

[1] The Richmond collection is, of course, included in Michaelis' *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. At the time when this book was published, the sarcophagus now described was not yet in the collection. It was purchased by the late owner, Sir Francis Cook, about twenty-two years ago. Mrs. Strong has been unable to discover the previous history of these fragments. According to Sir Frederick Cook's house-steward they had been for over fifty years in a garden in London, and were quite black with London dirt when they were first brought to Richmond. Till two years ago two of the fragments remained in the Doughty House Conservatory.

symmetrically to the centre. The door thus described stands in front of a pediment, which rests on spiral-fluted columns. Below the pediment is a scallop-shell. Above this shell appears an architrave broken in the centre. Like the geison, it is composed of a fillet from which hang irregular dentils.

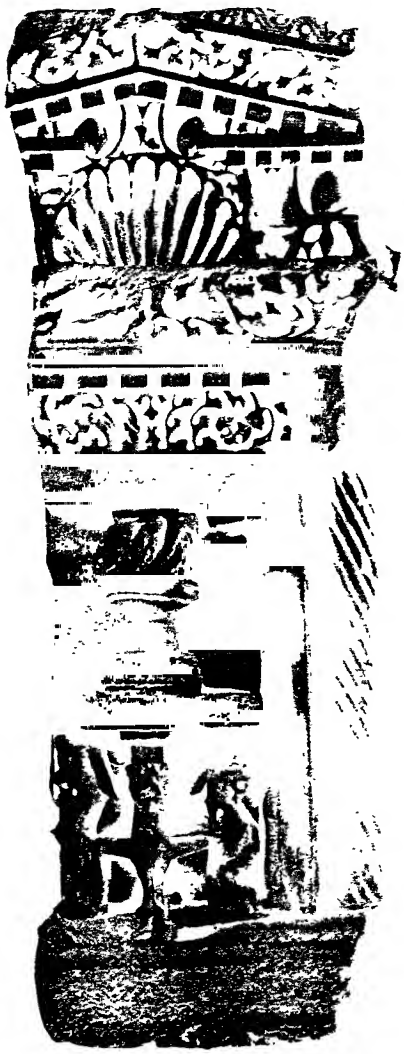

Fig. 1.—Fragment A of the Cook Sarcophagus.

It is filled up by two huge members borrowed from an egg-moulding and these reappear on each side of the shell. The pediment terminates at the top with a border upon which a tendril is carved, not in relief, but in a new coloristic manner. Above the fillet are horizontal ∾-shaped Acroteria.

There exists a whole series of sarcophagi, all of which display on one narrow end the same door in front of a shell pediment, and also correspond in ornament and in technical execution with the fragments at Richmond. We can best form an idea of what the Richmond sarcophagus, when

FIG. 2.—THE SIDAMARA SARCOPHAGUS.

complete, was like by reference to the huge sarcophagus discovered at Ambar-arassy, 125 kilometres west-south-west of Konia (the ancient Iconium) in Asia Minor, now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and known as 'the Sidamara Sarcophagus' (*Monuments Piot*, ix. Plates XVII.–XIX.).

Fig. 2 shews all the details described in Sir Frederick Cook's fragment. Here, however, the central design is flanked on the left by a woman, on the right by a man, and the whole is enclosed within two columns surmounted by tall imposts. Similar examples are to be found also in the Louvre,[2] in the Giardino Colonna in Rome,[3] at Athens,[4] and at Ueskeles in Asia Minor.[5]

B.—Pl. V. (breadth 2 ft. 1 in.) reproduces the first of three nude figures of youths. The figure is shewn standing in front view; the weight is on the *right* leg, and the *left* leg is at ease; the head is turned in profile to the right. Long curls fall down to the shoulders, over which is thrown a chlamys. The left hand catches the drapery up in a knot and holds downwards a bough laden with fruit; the right is lowered and grasps an object of uncertain shape. It cannot be determined with certainty what it is that the youth holds in such a peculiar way—possibly a staff.[6] In the corresponding examples also, this hand is always broken away. It is so in a sarcophagus at Ismidt[7] (Nicomedia), and in a fragment not yet published, which I found in the front garden of the Turkish gymnasium (Idadie) at Smyrna. Its size is 0·50 metre × 0·71 metre. Fig. 3 shews a quantity of fragments; below in the centre is the same youth, with sides reversed, but with both arms in the same position. Here too the figure stands beneath the same rounded pediment in front of the scallop-shell, and between the same characteristic columns as in the Richmond fragment. The head is unfortunately broken away. On the sarcophagus at Ismidt the head is turned to the left, but the figure is placed beneath the same rounded arch. A parallel may perhaps also be found in the central figure of the Colonna sarcophagus.[8] Since, in the fragment *B*, the left-hand capital is fully sculptured on the return face, the fragment must belong to one of the angles of the sarcophagus.

C.—Pl. VI. (about 16 in.). This 'statue' closely resembles *B* and is almost identical with the two reliefs at Smyrna and Ismidt. The figure stands resting on the left leg and looks to the left, while the left hand is raised and hidden under the chlamys. Behind it is the pediment with the scallop-shell, and on the right the capital of a column.

D.—Pl. VII. (ab. 16 in.). This nude youth differs from the others in so far that he is not standing in full front view, but is turned somewhat to the

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[2] Michon, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, xxvi. p. 81.

[3] Muñoz, *Monumenti d'Arte*, i. 3.

[4] Mendel, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xxvi. p. 236.

[5] The same, p. 235.

[6] Mrs. Strong does not consider that the fragment now plastered up at the bottom on the left of *B* can belong here. Though the foot fairly suits the pose of *B*'s right leg, so it would that of many another figure. Moreover, if the foot is placed correctly in relation to *B*, then the base of the column is out of line with the shaft. By the side of the base may be seen the hoof of a horse. Mrs. Strong accordingly thinks the fragment may belong to a lost Dioscurus, as on the left of the Sidamara and Selefkeh sarcophagi; or seeing that this basis differs in shape from that of the other columns usually found on the long sides of these sarcophagi, that it may belong to one of the shorter sides (cf. Sidamara, the short side with the huntsman. *Mon. Piot*, ix. Plate XIX. 2).

[7] Reproduced by Muñoz, *L'Arte*, ix. p. 133.

[8] *Monumenti d'Arte*, Tav. i. 3, below.

right. The curly head is turned to the left in three-quarters profile, and round it may be seen what appears to be a laurel wreath (?). His movement is directed to that side as though by stretching out his left arm, which is raised under the chlamys, he had to overcome some resistance there. The identification of this figure as a Dioscurus would be in keeping with the whole attitude, which we may compare in this respect with the corresponding figures in our group of sarcophagi. Fig. 4 shews as a parallel example one of the Dioscuri on the sarcophagus from Sidamara. Beneath the rounded arch

FIG. 3.—SARCOPHAGUS FRAGMENTS AT SMYRNA.

the figure stands in its niche. The position of the legs is the same. The treatment is somewhat broader, that is, flatter, but the movement corresponds exactly, only that the head is more raised. Here, however, the Dioscurus is reining in his horse—to the left the hind-quarters of the horse are indicated in low relief; to the right, beside the youth, the forepart of the horse is seen in a rearing posture, cutting across the column. His lifted forefeet are carved in bold relief and only united to the body of the sarcophagus by

means of 'puntelli.' These 'puntelli' also occur on Sir Frederick Cook's fragment, one below on the pedestal, the other above on the chlamys, in front of the shaft of the column. Thus one thing only is lacking, and that is the horse itself, of which no traces exist behind the figure. It is just possible that it was placed round the corner on the adjoining side of the sarcophagus, and, as a fact, this figure belongs to an angle of the sarcophagus, for the right-hand capital is sculptured on its return face. But in that case this sarcophagus would differ from all the others of the group. We already find the Dioscuri on the oldest example in the Riccardi Palace at Florence,[9] then on the great sarcophagus from Selefkeh in the Imperial Ottoman Museum,[10]

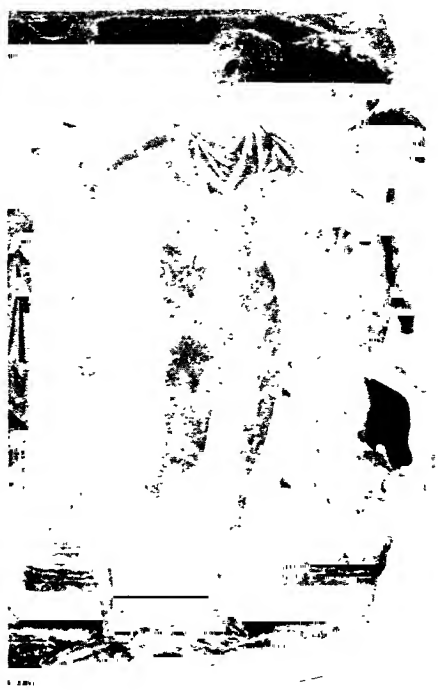

FIG 4.—DIOSCURUS FROM THE SIDAMARA SARCOPHAGUS.

and on the Achilles-sarcophagus in the Museum at Konia.[11] It is significant that Mrs. Strong discovered on the fragment *B* (Pl. V.) the hoof of a horse.

E.—I pass now to two male figures in flowing drapery. Of these the most important from its motive is illustrated on Pl. VIII. Here we have under the same typical rounded niche a beardless man, in front view. Both hands are lowered, the left hand holding a roll, the right dragging one corner of his mantle to the left. At the same time he looks eagerly to the right; his curly hair is cut short. Over an ample chiton he wears a mantle which is

[9] Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 52.
[10] The same, p. 47.
[11] *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xxvi. p. 225, Fig. 5.

thrown first over his left shoulder; it is next brought round his right hip and is then drawn, with a strikingly executed twist, over the wrist of his left hand. Finally it is gathered below into energetic horizontal folds. Even this strikingly original figure, conceived, one might say, in the spirit of a master of Donatello's vigorous individuality, has its analogy on the sarcophagus discovered in Asia Minor. The motive of the fold crossing over the body and over the wrist is to be found also in Fig. 2, the man standing beside the doorway in the Sidamara sarcophagus. This particular motive, however, often recurs. It is otherwise with the fold below drawn across horizontally. To my mind it is curious that this original and peculiar drapery

Fig. 5.—Sarcophagus from Selefkeh at Constantinople.

also should recur in precisely identical form on the great sarcophagus from Selefkeh at Constantinople. Fig. 5 shews one of the broader sides of this monument. In the centre we see a nude youth holding a bough in his left hand, like *B* of the Richmond sarcophagus; then on each side a female figure; finally, at each of the ends, a draped male figure. Even in the reduced illustration, and though this figure stands quite at the extreme end, we cannot fail to recognise that it is identical in every particular—the supporting leg and the leg at rest, the turn of the head, the position of the arms, the left hand holding the roll, and last, not least, the two horizontal folds in the drapery, one above the other.

F.—Pl. IX. (17 in.). This figure produces the impression of a Herm: the upper part of the body is closely compressed, while the mass of drapery diminishes towards the feet. The arms and hands are entirely covered by a pallium which falls downwards with a grand vertical sweep. The right arm

under it is raised to the breast; the left is placed in front of the body; the head with its short curly hair looks to the right. As yet I have found no parallel for the bold scheme of drapery on the Asia Minor sarcophagi.

Finally we have three draped female statues.

G.—The finest of the three (Pl. X) might just as well stand on the Campanile or on Or San Michele at Florence. There it would be appreciated at its true artistic value, but being on a late antique sarcophagus it finds no favour. The slender figure stands erect and taper-like; the turn of the throat and head do not introduce a sense of movement so much as add to the impression of dignity and repose. Her right arm rests in a fold of the mantle; the left hangs down, holding a roll. Here too the principal charm of the composition resides in the drapery. The view reproduced in Pl. X. shews clearly how the upper portion of the mantle passes over from the left to the right shoulder, turns back again below it at an angle, and crosses to the left hand. The drapery is stretched perpendicularly over the left arm. An exact replica of this beautiful figure occurs on a sarcophagus at Brussa[12]—without, indeed, the great distinction of style of the Richmond example. The angle formed by the folds of drapery over the right hip is here mechanically copied and becomes a mere caricature. The left hand again is lowered, holding a roll. A similar figure occurs on the Colonna sarcophagus.

H.—Pl. XI. A figure with dignified and expressive action such as a Gothic artist might have chosen for Mary in the Annunciation. This woman turns to the left, but leans back slightly to the right with the upper part of her body. She grasps the folds of her mantle together in front as if alarmed, a gesture which suits the serious expression of her face; her left hand remains caught in the folds over her breast. For this impressive creation I know of no parallel among any of the sarcophagus sculptures hitherto discovered in Asia Minor.

J.—Pl. XII. Here we have a woman, in front view, with her head, over which her veil is drawn, turned to the left. Her right arm emerges from her short-sleeved chiton and is brought across her breast to her left, where it rests on the veil; with her left hand she gathers her veil together in a bunch which she raises towards her left. This figure is not uncommon—the pose is such as we find repeated four times on the two longer sides of the great Selefkeh sarcophagus in the Imperial Ottoman Museum; the women on each side of the central figure always hold the ends of their mantle together with their left hand as in the Richmond example. Fig. 5 shews that one of these four statues that most nearly resembles our figure. The woman stands to the right between the central figure and the youth at the corner. She holds her arm as in the Richmond fragment, across her breast, but the whole action looks like a weak imitation, whilst the decided power displayed in the Richmond figure seems to give evidence of an original creation.

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[12] *L'Art*, ix. p. 131. Fig. I.

The foregoing description and comparison with corresponding sculptures prove beyond a doubt that the nine Richmond fragments belong to the type of sarcophagi from Asia Minor to which I first drew attention in *Orient oder Rom*, pp. 40 f. My object then was to assign to its proper group in art a relief with a figure of Christ, purchased in Constantinople for the Berlin Museum. No pieces of Christian sculpture have been added to the group then spoken of, but the number of antique examples has meanwhile so much increased that we may safely say there can scarcely be any of the larger museums that does not possess a fragment.[13] Therefore when I undertook to publish the Richmond fragments, it was not to add a new piece to the sculptures already known, nor because here was a specially well preserved example such as the sarcophagus from Sidamara, but because, from an artistic point of view, the fragments belonging to Sir Frederick Cook occupy by far the most important place and thus can best enable us to enter into the spirit of that side of the Asia Minor sarcophagi which till now has been neglected by everyone, namely, the statuary motives. I myself, in 1903, in my book *Orient oder Rom*, only went into the subject so far as was necessary in order to elucidate the fragment in Berlin with the figure of Christ. My chief object then and afterwards in my work on Mschatta[14] was to determine the special style of ornament which decorated the architectural setting and to investigate its origin. I should like to refer briefly to this before I enter upon an examination of the actual architectural structure and of the statuary types.

Only in one of the Richmond fragments (*B*) were both the columns on either side of the figure preserved, everywhere else only the column to the right. It almost seems as if the sarcophagus, perhaps discovered intact, had been purposely broken into pieces in order that it might be more easily transported abroad. All these fragments have the same architectonic backgrounds. The spiral-fluted shaft of the column stands on a Hellenistic plinth[15] and a peculiar base; the lower moulding projects broadly, in shape like a plate, while the upper moulding is flat between two broad fillets. These characteristics are common to all Asia Minor sarcophagi. The capital is not quite so uniform; we have here, it seems, an important evolution which may enable us to fix the date of the sculpture. The capital in the Richmond fragments spreads out to both sides almost square over the lower row of acanthus leaves, and displays four remarkably large volutes side by side. On the oldest example—the marriage sarcophagus in the Palazzo Riccardi (Fig. 6 *a*)—the acanthus is spoon-shaped, and the sarcophagus in the Colonna garden also deviates somewhat from the Asia Minor type. I here reproduce one of its capitals (6 *b*); the acanthus leaves lie flat without the elegant curve of the profile or of the lobes. The effect is obtained more by

[13] Cf. the examples brought together by Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, ss. 40 f., and *Byz. Zeitschrift*, x. 726, and xv. 419; Muñoz, *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Christ.* xi. 81 f., and *L'Arte* ix. 132; Michon, *Mélanges d'Archéol.* xxvi. pp. 79 f.

[14] *Jahrbuch der koniglich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1904, pp. 205 f.

[15] Cf. *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1906 pp. 911 f.

means of the dark triangular hollows between the little lobes than by the modelling of the leaf itself. A similar tendency in the cutting of the leaves is to be observed in the decoration of several blocks found in the theatre at Ephesus (6 *c*). These display on their semicircular face the same vertical acanthus divided down the centre by the lotus (Fig. 6 *c*). Here the purpose of the flat rendering and of the effect of the dark interspaces is still more striking. Then follows the type which is represented by the Richmond fragments and the bulk of the Asia Minor sarcophagi (6 *d*). Hitherto the foliage had been carved with the chisel; now it is exclusively worked with the borer; the modelling becomes of entirely secondary importance by comparison with the deeply bored interspaces. The leaf itself in its actual shape really

Fig. 6.—Development of the Sarcophagus-Capitals.

exists no longer; only an impression of it is produced by the coloristic contrast between the white, jagged edges of the leaf and the dark background. This technique, with the intended impressionism of its decoration, is to be found in the entire group of Asia Minor sarcophagi. Later we find it abandoned in favour of a method which became common in the Prokonnesos just outside Byzantium; here the chisel completes the work of the borer. This type is well represented by the capitals of the fragment of the Christ relief at Berlin (6 *e*), where the acanthus assumes a novel, thickly jagged, form.[6]

[6] See on this point my *Orient oder Rom*, p. 56.

To keep to the ornamentation of the Asia Minor sarcophagi in general. Look at the impost above the capitals (6 *d*). What has happened to the Greek egg-moulding in the upper border? The dark background dominates the circle in the middle and the strips at the side, and the ornament below with the trident is meant to represent the ancient Lesbian cymatium! However, the whole member, slightly curved at the sides on which these two strips appear, is scarcely recognisable, owing to its projection, as a part of the ancient architrave. But as little can it be doubted that the gable-lines of the pediment with their dog-tooth moulding are the purely decorative transformation of an antique design. How this transformation, which

FIG. 7.—RELIEF AT BERLIN.

probably originated in Mesopotamia, was accomplished, and how the oriental decorative style of composition in white and black came to supplant the Greek method of modelling the foliage in light and shadow, can be studied in my work on Mschatta and in an article of mine on the 'Fate of Hellenism in the formative Arts.'[17]

In contrast with the important revolution wrought in the rendering of the forms in ornament where we see the motives handed down from Greek

[17] *Die Schicksale des Hellenismus in der bildenden Kunst* in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum*, xv. pp. 19 f.

art conceived in an entirely novel style by means of colour instead of form, the figures on our sarcophagi keep wholly within the range of a period of ancient art long previous to the time of their production. I fixed the date of the Christ relief in Berlin, from which my researches in *Orient oder Rom* started, in the third or fourth century, the sarcophagus in the Palazzo Riccardi is assigned to the Antonine period, and the greater number of the examples in our group must have been produced in the interval between these dates. They all belong, therefore, to a period subsequent to the Christian era, yet the figures on them do not adhere to that picturesque illusionist tendency in art observable in those Hellenistic reliefs produced in the centuries about Christ's birth, where the aim was to evoke the illusion of space, nor do they follow in the steps of the Pergamene and Rhodian 'Barocco' of the preceding period. They are typical examples of that

Fig. 8.—Sarcophagus Fragment in the British Museum.

Greek plastic art which flourished before the time of Alexander the Great, and which sought to solve the problem of the figure in plastic form either as nudes standing in repose or as highly perfected systems of drapery. It is the art of the fourth century which again makes its appearance in the types of statues on our sarcophagi. That is the point on which the fragments of the Richmond sarcophagus furnish us with such excellent evidence.

This fact had already struck me in the Christ relief in Berlin.[18] The Saviour (Fig. 7), in attitude and drapery, shews the type of the ancient orator, the best known example of which is the statue of Sophocles in

[18] *Orient oder Rom*, p. 59.

the Lateran. The head of the Christ, moreover, closely resembles that of the Praxitelean Eubuleus. A similar head, somewhat resembling the Eros of Centocelle and also reproduced in the ancient Christian statuettes of the Good Shepherd, is shewn in the fragments *B* and *C*, the two youths standing quietly in front view. In position and bearing also they correspond with that group of figures which we like to associate with the name of Praxiteles. With the exception of a few alterations necessitated by the composition within a niche, *B* might be regarded as a copy of the Hermes. Types like those of the Dioscuri, which frequently appear on our sarcophagi as corner figures, trace their origin back into the fourth and even the fifth century, and are exemplified in the fragment *C*. It is not impossible that the Richmond sarcophagus, when it was still perfect, displayed as the principal figure on one of its longer sides a seated statue, such as we find on the sarcophagi of Sidamara and Selefkeh. The British Museum possesses a fragment of the same kind (Fig. 8). We have here a composition in flattened relief showing a bearded man reading from a roll. In front of him stands a Muse with the tragic mask. Her head-dress points to the Roman period. The type itself, however, again belongs to pre-Alexandrian art and has it origin in the reliefs on Attic tombs in the style of Pheidias.

Fig. 9.—Muse from the Mantinean Basis.

The chief evidence for the purely Greek origin of the types of statues on the Richmond fragments is furnished, in my opinion, by the draped figures. Original works in the style of *E* energetically clutching the folds of his garment like some prophet of Donatello's are incredible in the Roman period. This figure evinces so much individual creative power that it can only belong to a period of unusual activity in the domain of form-problems in statuary. A similar movement to that of the folds in the herm-like figure *F*—the end of the mantle drawn from the right shoulder straight across the breast and over the left hand—is to be found on one

of the Muses of Praxiteles on the basis from Mantinea. Notice on one of these reliefs (Fig. 9, from the slab with the three Muses standing) what economy of line prevails in the arrangement of the principal folds round the breast and you will then understand why I venture to assign to the

FIG. 10.—THE 'MATRON OF HERCULANEUM.' (Dresden.)

beautiful draped figure *G*, as regards its type, a place near Praxiteles. The so-called Matron of Herculaneum in the Dresden Albertinum confirms me in this view (Fig. 10). In this single statue, as in Sir F. Cook's fragment, the chief form-value consists in the arrangement of the folds on the left

breast. They seem to be drawn tight between the shoulder, the raised right hand and the left, which is held down. The position of the head and legs in the Richmond fragment has been changed for the sake of that correspondence between neighbouring pairs of figures which is usual in the Asia Minor sarcophagi. The veil, too, is absent, as the pileus frequently is in the case of the Dioscuri. Amelung[19] considers this type of the statue from Herculaneum to have had its origin in the school of Praxiteles, and P. Hermann, who has daily opportunity of studying this grand work in the Albertinum, confirms this opinion in a letter: 'The Dresden sta ~ a faithful copy of a sculptured original of the fourth century, most probably of the circle of Praxiteles. Head and body belong inseparably to each other and form a complete artistic whole. In the Roman period this Greek type sometimes served for portrait statues, and would be given a portrait head in the place of the ideal head belonging to it. This, however, is *not* the case with the example from Herculaneum.'

This comparison brings us back once more into the 'milieu' to which the figures of this sarcophagus belong—to the time when artists subsisted on their Greek heritage from the pre-Alexandrian period, and were actively employed in copying ancient types. Presumably, therefore, the types of the two draped female figures *H* and *J* are likewise not new creations by an Asia Minor sculptor of the Christian era. They go back to a school which is represented by an original; the sarcophagus, namely, with the 'Mourners' (*Les Pleureuses*), discovered at Sidon.[20] There, too, we find the same division of the walls of the sarcophagus into separate niches in which are placed, each one alike and by themselves, the separate mourners, as in our Asia Minor sarcophagi.

The sarcophagus of the Mourning Women was found at Sidon in Syria; the details of its sculptures leave no doubt of its connection with the art of southern Asia Minor. It now remains to prove that the Asia Minor sarcophagi also belong to this school of plastic art, and depend from a centre of which till now we knew very little, namely Antioch. For to the sphere of influence of this Syrian metropolis belongs also the region on this side of the Taurus whence the art tendency noticeable in the Richmond fragments may have travelled to the west of Asia Minor just as well as to Macedonia, Greece, Italy and Rome. For the present nothing can be determined with certainty, but it is my firm conviction that the Asia Minor type of sarcophagus had its origin neither at Ephesus nor in any other district of western Asia Minor, neither in Greece nor Rome, but in the angle which lay nearest to Mesopotamia, and had Antioch as centre of culture. In proof of this I should like to bring forward certain considerations.

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[19] *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantineia*, pp. 26 f.; S. Reinach, however, ascribes it to Lysippus (*Rev. Arch.* 1900, ii. pp. 380 f.), likewise Collignon, 'Lysippe' (*Les Grands Artistes*, p. 21, p. 88). A middle view is taken by Michaelis in Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, i. ('Alterthum'), pp. 280 f.; cf. also Wörmann, *Kunstgeschichte*, i. p. 454; E. Strong in *Classical Review*, 1901, pp. 187 f.

[20] Cf. Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, *Les Sarcophages de Sidon*.

In favour of the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia is the composition of the ornament by means of dark interspaces, while in proof of the Antiochene district of Asia Minor I think I can appeal to another characteristic to which I have not yet called attention; namely, the peculiar architectural frame in which the Attic figures are placed. Their shoulders are surrounded by scallop-shells as by an arch. But these shells are simply a shape borrowed from Nature for an originally purely artistic form—the niche. Where is the home of the wall niche that ends at the top in a flattened quarter sphere? It is unknown either to Egypt or Greece, those two great master-powers of wood

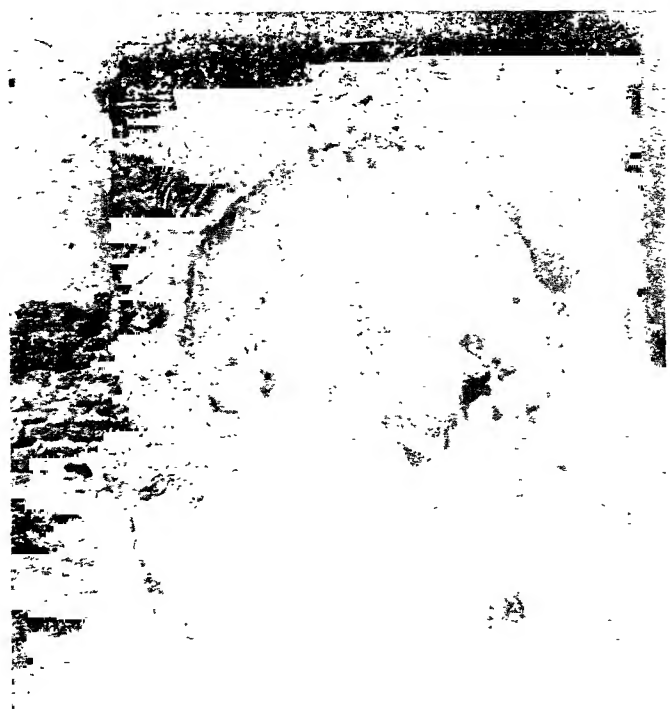

Fig. 11.—Niche in Cemetery of the Tulunids, near Cairo.

and stone building. *A priori*, therefore, it might well have originated in the East; and this is supported by the fact that the art of Islam, in the final form in which it penetrated from Bagdad into the West, makes such an extensive use of the niche that the entrance of all secular and sacred Mohammedan buildings develops into the typical niche form of the 'Sublime Porte,' and also the Mihrab, which takes the direction of the national sanctuary at Mecca, is given in this same shape. Even the shell is to be found in one of the oldest examples; Fig. 11 shews this Islamic form. I found this shell-niche in the year 1895 in the cemetery of the Tulunids, which lies to the south of

Cairo outside Bab-el-Karafa, and of which Makrisi, as early as the year 1420, reports that there were many oratories there, into which holy men were wont to retire.[21] The Mihrab of Imam Schaffai, situated near the mausoleum, the chief holy place of this district, was probably the last remains of one of these oratories (it has since disappeared). In my photograph the shell can be plainly seen; it was rendered in stucco, and the ornaments in the spandrils, which complete the pointed niche in a square, are carried out in the same material. This frame motive itself as well as the tendril-work is of typically Persian origin. Evidences for this can be found in my work on Mschatta, in another on the miniature painting of Lower Armenia,[22] and above all in the stucco decoration in the mosques at Cairo [23] brought there from Persia by the Tulunids, the Fatimids and the Ayyubids. I merely make use here of the Mihrab, which repeats the type well, in order to shew the reader the further development of the shell-niche on the ancient soil of Mesopotamia, whence it probably had also made its way into the ancient architecture of Asia Minor and of Syria. There is the original home of the brick wall [24] divided on the outside by flat, on the inside by rounded niches. This style of wall construction, translated into stone, first makes its appearance in the great temple buildings and Nymphaea of Syria and Asia Minor. It is probable, therefore, that the group of sarcophagi which developed this motive as its type belongs also to this group.

It has never yet been noticed at all that the key to the explanation of how and where this style of sarcophagi could have developed is supplied by the Christian ivory carvings. At a time when the foundations of the study of Christian antiquities is about to be laid, unfortunately on a philological basis,[25] I am glad to be able to shew what very surprising disclosures plastic art alone can lead to in this direction. It is significant of the methods of classical archaeology that it has got into this channel, not with the help of my labours, but just now in the footsteps of Literature. It still clings more than one would think to letters instead of opening its eyes to the forms and figures of painting and sculpture.

Fig. 12 shews the front of the celebrated throne of St. Maximian at Ravenna. In the centre stands John the Baptist in front view; the weight of the figure is on the left leg and the right is at ease. The saint raises his right hand to bless in the Greek fashion, and holds a disk with the lamb in his right. He is flanked by two evangelists on each side, who each turn towards the central figure; their gestures are varied, but all carry their symbol, a volume, which they hold in their left arm. Examine closely the motives of the splendid drapery, which are varied in each figure, and the richness of the folds with their individual arrangement, and you will come to the conclusion that these five figures disposed round a central figure are in

[21] Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Kopten*, p. 80, B. 4.

[22] *System. alphab. Hauptkatalog der K. Univ. Bibl. zu Tübingen*, xiii. 'Verzeichnis der armenischen Handschriften,' Tubingen, 1907.

[23] On this point see Franz Pasha, *Cairo*.

[24] Strzygowski, *Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, p. 38.

[25] Von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, 1906.

attitude and drapery really nothing but the longer side of one of our Asia Minor sarcophagi (cf. Fig. 5). It is true that in place of the monolithic stonework which permitted the architecture to form a continuous frame round the figures, the subtle technique of incrustation has been introduced into ivory carving, and to suit this technique three rectangular frames are joined together. Between these, however, narrow pieces are inserted just as in our sarcophagi. And hand in hand with the introduction of framework came another innovation. The niche architecture on the sarcophagi, with its projecting entablature, had brought about as a necessary consequence that

Fig. 12.—From the Throne of St. Maximian, Ravenna.

figures in niches should alternate with those which stand in front of the straight architrave connecting the niches. The ivory carver composed panel by panel, and therefore executed the niche motive singly for each figure—but yet he could not emancipate himself from the customary arrangement of broad and narrow spaces. This scheme, which is inexplicable for ivory carving considered by itself, affords the clearest proof that the sculptor of the pulpit of St. Maximian is closely connected with the art of the Asia Minor sarcophagi.

Now the throne of St. Maximian, as I have shewn elsewhere,[26] is of Syrian origin. Its sharply cut tendril-work decoration, with dark interstices, points to this. I thought of Antioch itself as the place where it was produced, and can now support that assumption by its relationship to the Asia Minor sarcophagi on the one hand, and on the other to a monument which will also disclose to us most remarkable evidence with regard to the origin of the whole group and the question of date. I allude to the beautiful ivory diptych in the British Museum carved with the figure of an archangel and bearing the legend ΔΕΧΟΥ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ. (Fig. 13.) The decoration in this case leads us to presume that it is of Syrian origin. Place it now beside the Asia Minor sarcophagi and the throne of St. Maximian, and we shall find that it has points of contact with both. The arrangement of a single figure in a niche containing a shell is the same as on the sarcophagi. Closely related to the statues of the throne is the beautiful bold motive below—the roll drawn round the hips. There we see one end of the mantle laid broadly across the body to hide the lap. The same trait occurs in the two apostles who stand nearest to John on the pulpit. The beardless apostle to the right shews almost exactly the same motive as the archangel; in the bearded one to the left, on the other hand, this mantle is drawn across the body down to the left knee. While there is no doubt that the throne is later than the sarcophagus, whose scheme of composition it evidently presupposes, the archangel diptych exhibits a motive which has an appearance of great antiquity.

Fig. 13.—Leaf of Ivory Diptych in the British Museum.

Look back to the sarcophagi. The figures there stand between the bases of the columns on the lower border. The arrangement on the throne is more individual, because there attention has been paid to the profile-edge of the three large panels. Now the form of the ground in the London ivory diptych is quite unique. Between the deep fluted pedestals six steps lead right up to the height of the bases of the pillars. What did the sculptor mean by this unsuitable motive? He was thereby only getting involved in contradictions, for as a sculptor of merit, and for the sake of the representative character of his figure, it was important for him to place his

[26] *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1904, p. 299, 'Mschatta.'

archangel as near as possible to the surface of the panel, that is, immediately in front of the spectator. But the steps required that the archangel should appear on the platform above, that is, standing in the space far behind the pillars, pushed back, in fact, into the room. Instead of that he presses forward right in front of the shafts of the columns, and his arms and even his wings hide both shaft and capital. As a consequence the lower part of the body would have to be represented retreating towards the background. The sculptor partly gets himself out of this dilemma in a most *naïve* manner. He cannot quite bring the feet into the plane of the composition—the figure must remain upon the platform—that is part of his fixed idea. So he lets it stand up on the platform with its heels, while the soles are stepping down on three steps at once. This exaggeration of the feet seems to him preferable to giving up the whole motive.

Why this stiff-necked obstinacy? Riegl, in characteristic fashion, finds a definite artistic intention hidden in the motive. He thinks the artist 'conscientiously avoided representing a definite momentary kind of standing on the steps, and endeavoured rather to set this act of standing before the eye of the spectator as objective type and in order to characterise the feet, by means of their upper surface, as giving the effect of depth.'[27] I have often enough taken my stand against this sort of theorising, and may, I think, in this case declare for once emphatically how mistaken such well-meant explanations are, when they so entirely neglect historical facts, as Riegl does in this instance.

Precisely as the curious arrangement of the five figures on the front of the throne of St. Maximian betrays in respect of the Asia Minor sarcophagi an atavism manifest in certain inconsistencies, such as the alternation of broad and narrow fields, so here the sculptor of the London ivory diptych does not advance with a will towards the discovery of new motives, but shews himself retrograde in his weak adherence to traditional ideas. The six steps between the pedestals in front leading to the background of the relief are not his invention, but go back, together with the motive of the doorway to which they lead, to presupposed facts, the demonstration of which must for the time being be sought for at Pompeii. Suppose a theologian were making researches in the houses there in order to elucidate the motive of the steps, and came in the Casa di Marco Lucrezio, for example, to the steps which lead up from a fountain to a statue standing in an arched niche, he might well imagine that the artist of the ivory relief, by analogy with the cascade and its flight of steps, had wished to convey that the archangel, like the water which we suppose to flow down the steps, was the bringer of life. As a matter of fact the Good Shepherd and Daniel were placed in this fashion by Constantine the Great

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[27] Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, p. 122: the artist 'hat es geflissentlich vermieden, eine bestimmte momentane Art des Stehens auf den Stufen darzustellen, da sein Streben vielmehr darauf gerichtet war, das Stehen über den Stufen an sich, als objektiven Typus, dem Beschauer vor Augen zu führen und die Füsse vermittels der Obersicht als tiefraumerfullend zu charakterisieren.'

over the fountains in the centre of the squares of Constantinople.[28] By similar combinations the Indian figure of the boy on the water-mound on which animals are feeding and drinking received a Christian interpretation.[29] Another might discover the flight of six steps of our relief in the six steps that lead up to the temple of Isis at Pompeii and its vestibule. As the cultus image in its day was shewn with this architectural approach, so the sculptor (we might say) introduced his Christian archangel, steps and façade with columns going back therefore to antique temples raised on a podium.

In reality the key to the origin of our motive lies much further away from the path which is usually followed in tracing the motives of Christian art, and many a Christian archaeologist will probably tear his hair out with horror, when I propose to prove that the archangel in the London relief has been placed here like a real actor on the stage. Perhaps some may be more inclined to reflect seriously on what I am about to say when I mention that lately a theologian has tried to point out, in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix. 365 f., that the sculptured screen (the ikonostasis) of the Orthodox Church had its origin in the Proskenion of the ancient theatre, and that characteristic features of the Liturgy, such as the εἴσοδοι, were none other than the acts of the Hellenic drama, so that when we Westerns reproach the Orthodox Church for its theatrical services our reproach is in the truest sense justified. Karl Holl, as I shall point out, was quite right in making these assertions.

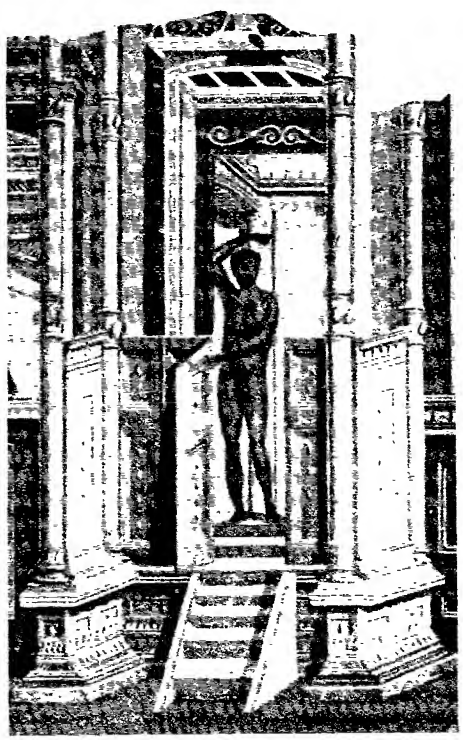

Fig 14.—Portion of Pompeian Wall-Painting.

For the archangel on the steps a convincing analogy is to be found at Pompeii in the wall paintings of the fourth style only. There one often sees (best in the stucco decoration of a wall in the Stabian Thermae and in some paintings in relief which are now in the Bronze Rooms of the Naples Museum) figures between columns, represented standing in a doorway to which steps lead up. The annexed example is from the so-called Palaestra (Reg. VIII. ins. 2, No. 23), Fig. 14.[30] We see between the projecting side walls with their

[28] Cf. *Römische Quartalschrift*, iv. 102.

[29] Such groups in ivory are to be found in nearly all museums.

[30] This illustration and the following are after von Cube, *Die Römische 'scenae frons' in den pompeianischen Wandbildern*, Berlin, 1906.

columns five steps and then two more leading up to the nude youth who appears above in the doorway. The sculptor of the London diptych also imagined the side walls to recede in a similar way. He would otherwise not have placed the archangel's sceptre on the pedestal to the right, and by thus correcting the columns have moved them back somewhat into space. The number of the steps, which, as in the Pompeian picture, get smaller to the top, also almost coincides. The fact is that for such flights of door-steps in the Campanian wall paintings five steps on an average are used.

I do not mean to assert, in quoting this analogy, that the ivory sculptor had actually copied a Pompeian picture or any antique painting at all. It may be fairly clearly established in this instance that between Pompeii and the diptych there is a third connecting link—the ancient stage. This can be proved with the help of those monuments which are most closely allied to the

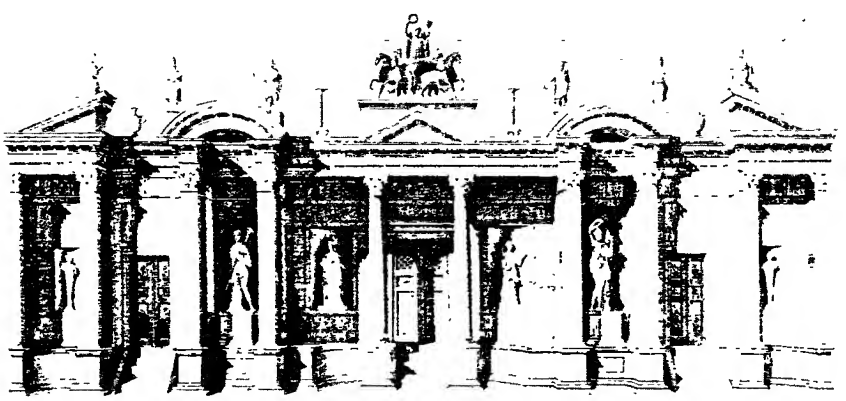

Fig. 15.—Reconstruction of Pompeian Stage Façade.

archangel relief, such as the front of the throne of St. Maximian and the Asia Minor sarcophagi. The five figures side by side are distinctive of them. These figures are placed—on the throne and on the sarcophagi—within and between the three pairs of columns which are connected either by a rounded arch or by a pediment (Fig. 5), and which, as the archangel relief with its steps shews, were meant to indicate doors. But what are these three doors united into a whole by a projecting entablature? That is the actual division of the stage wall which Holl has accepted for the ikonostasis of the Greek Church and which—a fact I have not yet mentioned—Puchstein has assumed to be the model for the Pompeian wall paintings of the fourth style mentioned above.

Lately von Cube, at the suggestion of Puchstein, undertook, by confronting what is preserved of the extant ruins in the theatres themselves with

what can be made out clearly from the wall paintings, to reconstruct these stage walls. I give here (Fig. 15) an example done from the very fanciful wall picture introduced into the upper part of the architecture in the triclinium of a Pompeian house (Reg. I. ins. 3, No. 25). We see here the three doors with five steps each; in the centre the *Aula regia*, to the side the *Hospitalia*. They are flanked by columns on pedestals, and where the pairs of columns come close to each other statues stand in the narrow interspace. If these are restored from the originals or from the ivory tablet in the case of the doors also, we shall have first the wall painting itself (Fig. 16), which is the foundation of von Cube's reconstruction, and then the long façade of an Asia Minor sarcophagus (Fig. 5). For it is obvious that if we reconstruct the upper part of this architecture, not entirely from the painting as von Cube has done, but according to a reasonable architectural point of

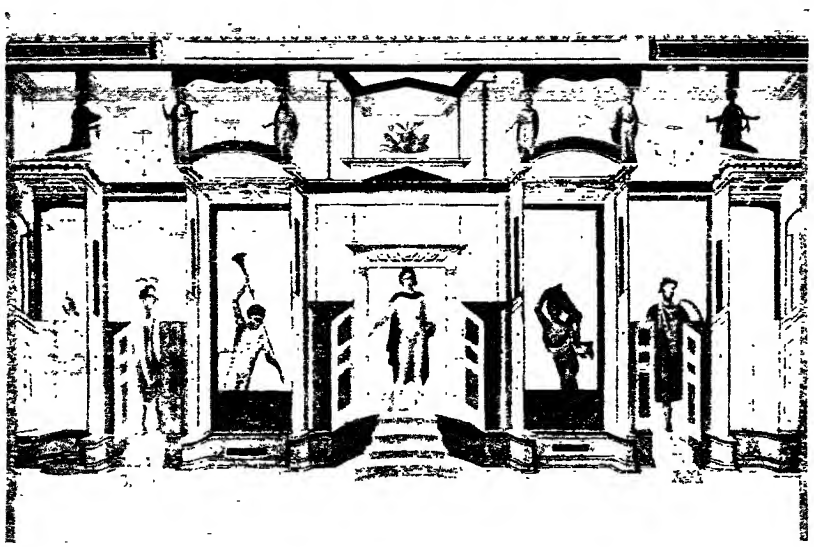

FIG. 16.—POMPEIAN WALL PAINTING.

view, then arch and pediment would come over the doors and not between them. It will be well, therefore, when reconstructing the stage walls of ancient theatres in the future, to take into consideration the long sides of the Asia Minor sarcophagi. But if the question arises as to where this theatre architecture penetrated into painting and sculpture, and if it is urged that this could only happen in a great city, then probably the innovation should be referred to Antioch rather than to Rome. It is from Antioch that the fourth style of Pompeian wall painting [31] and the type of the Asia Minor sarcophagi came; from thence also, or from one of the islands lying off the Syrian coast of Asia Minor, come the Ravenna sarcophagi, which reproduce

[31] Cf. Strzygowski, *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1906, pp. 910 f.

the type of the theatre façade in its latest phase, posterior to the throne of St. Maximian—the type, namely, with the five arcades of perfectly even width. Finally, from Antioch comes also the ivory throne itself and the archangel diptych in the British Museum, in which the motive of the theatre steps has been so strikingly preserved. Just as in Japan there were times when painting and sculpture remained entirely under the influence of the theatre, so also in ancient art. It appears that this was the case at Antioch. We find the fashion had penetrated to Italy with the fourth style in the time of Nero. In the period of the Antonines it dominates sarcophagus sculpture in the central district of the eastern Mediterranean; in the archangel relief, the Ravenna throne, and the Christ relief at Berlin it encroaches on Christian art, and is destined afterwards to celebrate its final triumph in the Ravenna sarcophagi and to live on unrecognised up to the present day in the ikonostasis of the Greek Church.

To conclude, I return again to the Richmond fragments. They belong in every particular, in the decoration executed with the borer, and in the beauty of form of the statues and the strict adherence to the architecture of the theatre wall, to the best specimens we possess of the Asia Minor school of sculpture which had its starting point in Antioch. Whether these sarcophagi were produced at Tarsus, as Sir William Ramsay[32] thinks, or whether, as I supposed, the marble points to the Prokonnesos[33] (therefore to the ancient Cyzicus), and whether the Richmond fragments come, as Th. Reinach[34] concluded in the case of the Sidamara sarcophagus, from the mountains north of the Taurus, or—as the export of Greek marble sarcophagi to Ravenna led me to suppose—from one of the islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor, are points the decision of which is reserved to the researches of the future.

The sample sent to me by Mrs. Strong shews that the marble of the Richmond sarcophagus comes from Greek quarries. It is grey in colour and crystalline throughout. I also have samples of the sarcophagi from Selefkeh in Constantinople, of the Christ-relief in Berlin, of one of the sarcophagus fragments in the Louvre, and of the sarcophagus in the Colonna garden. The last two shew pure white crystals. On the other hand, the Richmond sample comes near in its grey colour to the examples from Selefkeh and the Christ-relief from Constantinople in Berlin.

JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI.

(*Translated from the author's MS. by Mrs. Arthur Strong.*)

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[32] *Revue des Études anciennes*, 1901, p. 358; *Studies in the History of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 60.

[33] *Orient oder Rom*, p. 54.

[34] *Monuments Piot*, ix. p. 7.

THE 'LIST OF THALASSOCRACIES' IN EUSEBIUS: A REPLY.

MR. FOTHERINGHAM'S paper, if I understand it rightly, divides itself into three parts. He corrects certain errors in my tabular statement of the evidence, and in my commentary on it; he criticizes my suggestion that the 'List of Thalassocracies' may represent a fifth-century document; and he reconstructs from materials comprised wholly in the existing texts of Eusebius' work an outline of the Eusebian view of the 'List,' as he understands it; the gist of which is that he thinks that Eusebius not merely incorporated in his *Canones* the names of all the states contained in the 'List,' but also intended to space the thalassocracies according to the numerals contained in the Excerpt. From this he infers that, where the numerals in the Excerpt are lost, they may safely be restored from the intervals indicated in the *Canones*; and from this, finally, (1) that the Excerpt was not mutilated when Eusebius incorporated it in his *Chronographia*, and (2) that it represented, in its missing section at all events, the same chronological scheme as underlies the rest of Eusebius' work, and not, as I had been led to suggest, a different, earlier, and more accurate system.

With the permission of the editors of the *Journal*, I submit a brief note on each of these points, in the order indicated above.

(1) *Sundry errors of transcription and reckoning.*

I hope that my use of the word 'Eusebius' to denote 'the Armenian version of the *Chronici Canones*' and of the word 'Chronicon' for the '*Chronographia*' has not inconvenienced anyone besides Mr. Fotheringham: still more that he has not been misled already by the occurrence of the words *Chronicorum Liber I.* instead of *Chronographia* at the top of p. 226 in Schoene's edition, on which the Excerpt from Diodorus is printed.

In the matter of the relative value of the Armenian version and Jerome's version of the *Canones*, I should gladly bow to Mr. Fotheringham's great knowledge of the Eusebian texts, were it not that on Mr. Fotheringham's own showing, Jerome's version is more erratic in its support of Mr. Fotheringham's theory than even the Armenian version is, and requires even more ruthless emendation before it can be taken to represent a text of the *Canones* which shows signs of having utilized the numerals of the Excerpt.

For Mr. Fotheringham's correction of my errors of addition and subtraction in columns H and J, I have to thank him very heartily; and I am glad to be able to agree with him that they do not affect my argument.

In columns E and G, I have copied the wrong numeral between places XV and XVI; and the corresponding correction which must be made in my article, on p. 92, l. 9, invalidates the argument contained in ll. 9–11.

The numeral 45, which I attributed to the Phoenicians in column F, rests, as Mr. Fotheringham says, on one manuscript only; but it is defended by Mr. Fotheringham himself as a genuine piece of the Eusebian text. The only difference between us, if I understand his criticism rightly, is that he does not think that its preservation in MS. 'F' is sufficient to assign it to Jerome's version of that text.

Meanwhile I am glad to find that Mr. Fotheringham's experience of MS. 'F' of Jerome leads him to prefer 32 to 23 as the Eusebian numeral of the Cypriotes in place VI: for in the event of my interpretation of places VI–VIII being upheld (pp. 121 and 122 n.) the date 742 B.C. has several advantages over 732 B.C. It has, however, of course, the superficial disadvantage of having approximately the duration of a conventional 'generation of men.'

The errors which Mr. Fotheringham has discovered in my summary of the evidence of Syncellus, in column D, are more serious. After some trouble, I have discovered how I came to make them, but that concerns no one but myself, and does not mitigate the blunder. I have accordingly to cancel the sentence on p. 90, ll. 10–12 of my commentary on column D, and to substitute the words 'But in places VI–XI inclusive, and in place XIII, he omits both the names and the numerals.' I must also cancel the statement on p. 127 that 'Syncellus is silent' as to the duration of the seapower of Lydia: also on p. 92, l. 17, for 'like' should be read 'unlike.' But the other references to Syncellus in my article are, I believe, unaffected.

I have also, obviously, to modify my inference that Syncellus was using the *Chronographia* rather than the *Canones*; and to lay less stress on my suggestion that the text of Diodorus was already mutilated when it came to the knowledge of Eusebius. My argument, however, from the misreading preserved by Pliny (p. 105) remains untouched; and the question in what way the missing numerals are to be supplied is not affected one way or the other.

But while admitting that Mr. Fotheringham has made out a strong case against my suggestion (p. 92, n. 21) that Syncellus was relying on the *Chronographia* rather than on the *Canones*, I do not see that his conclusion follows necessarily; at all events it does not preclude the idea that Syncellus had the *Chronographia* as well as *Canones* before him, and was in fact using both If his copy of the *Canones* had contained a mention of the Naxians, it is difficult to see why he should have made his mistake of ten years in regard to the Lacedaemonian seapower; and in face of this mistake, it is difficult to

argue that Syncellus' copy of the *Canones* mentioned the Naxians at a point where all known versions of the *Canones* omit them. On the other hand the circumstance that, lower down, Syncellus does mention the Naxians, and gives them their proper numeral 10, seems to me to suggest that at this point at least he *is* using the *Chronographia*, at all events as a supplementary authority.

The only reason why this question, whether Syncellus had access to the *Chronographia* or not, was worth further discussion, is this. It is only by the assumption that Syncellus used the *Canones* exclusively, that Mr. Fotheringham is able to make good his generalization that 'each thalassocracy is found in at least one of the three documents from which the Eusebian text must be reconstituted.' This assumption of course he can only demonstrate by showing that Syncellus was not indebted, on any given occasion, to any other source such as the *Chronographia*. But the considerations which I have stated seem to show not merely that Syncellus *had* access to the *Chronographia* but also that his copy of the *Canones* credited the ten Naxian years to the Lacedaemonians and consequently did *not* contain the name of the Naxians at the point where he puts them: and if this was so the Naxians would seem to offer a clear case of a thalassocrat state which was *not* mentioned in any of the three documents in question.

(2) *The List in the Excerpt, and the Thalassocracies of Thucydides.*

I do not quite understand what points Mr. Fotheringham means to indicate in reply to my suggestion of a fifth-century date for the list, as showing that the retrospect of seapower given by Thucydides disagrees with the evidence of the list. Thucydides does not as a matter of fact give any 'dates' at all; and the circumstance that at a time which Eusebius (not Thucydides, nor Herodotus, nor any early writer) dates as falling within a 'Carian' seapower, a Corinthian built ships for Samos, would only prove anything, if Mr. Fotheringham were prepared to maintain that during a 'Carian' seapower neither Corinth nor Samos was allowed to have ships at all. To admit the existence of an 'Ionian' seapower 'later' than the generation of Ameinocles does not seem necessarily to exclude an earlier one; if only because there was more than one state in 'Ionia.' Moreover the very circumstance that Thucydides, when he exceeds the data of the Excerpt, does so only by including *Western* seapowers, goes far to explain both the omission of such a state as Corinth from the List, and also the preponderance of Levantine states in it. The List is clearly a sequence of *Eastern* Mediterranean seapowers: and consequently not only Corinth but Corcyra, Cumae, Syracuse, and Tarentum, as well as the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, are absent naturally. The reported 'seapower of Sinope' is another case in point, for Pontus is excluded likewise. Also if the List were really a document of the period of the Delian League, and compiled under its influence, as I have suggested, no 'tendency' would be more natural than disparagement of the seapower of Corinth: a motive too which would have no obvious explanation except under fifth-century circumstances.

The West, in early Greece, as in Thucydides' own time, was a kind of 'high seas,' common to all. Even in 445 B.C., the very treaty which recognized formally the existence of Leagues, which in the Aegean and on its shores were practically inclusive, left an open field in the West, where Athens and her rivals might compete freely for adherents. In Greek thought, the first 'thalassocrat' in the West was probably Dionysius of Syracuse.

(3) *The Eusebian* 'Canones' *as material for the restoration of the List in the Excerpt.*

Mr. Fotheringham's ingenious reconstruction of the text of the Eusebian *Canones*, so far as they are concerned with the thalassocracies, is a definite and valuable contribution to the study of the Eusebian text; and clears up many points which are obscure to those who are unfamiliar with its history. His object clearly is to show that, even in the present unhappy state of the *Canones*, enough similarity remains between their allusions to thalassocracies on the one side, and the names and numerals preserved in the Excerpt on the other, to justify the hypothesis that where the numerals are lost in the Excerpt they can be restored from the allusions in the *Canones*; that consequently there is no need to go outside the Eusebian text for materials for such a restoration as I have attempted; and that the List as restored by Mr. Fotheringham's method agrees with the Eusebian chronology, instead of supplying materials, as I had suggested, for its correction.

A question of method confronts us here at once. To reconstruct the text of the *Canones* on the hypothesis that its true intervals would be represented by the numerals of the Excerpt, and then to reconstruct the Excerpt on the hypothesis that the lost numerals would be represented by the intervals in the *Canones*, seems to me to be an argument in a circle.

On Mr. Fotheringham's own showing, aberrations of a year or two must be assumed to exist in the Eusebian dates almost throughout; and he makes out a good case for textual aberrations of as much as ten years. Two points therefore arise. First, how, in the absence of such a clue as is afforded by the Excerpt in the *Chronographia*, would it be possible even for Mr. Fotheringham to divine whether he ought to allow, in the case of any given event, for a rise of as much as ten years, or for a fall of a similar amount? With the clue at hand, it is comparatively easy to suggest how this or that textual obstacle may have produced the actual discrepancy; but what evidence is there even for the existence of a discrepancy, in the cases where the Excerpt is defective?

My meaning will perhaps be clearer if we take an actual instance. That Eusebius had *some* reason for putting down events at the point where they occurred, in the original text of his *Canones*, is in any case probable. That he should have thought that there was an Egyptian thalassocracy from 796 B.C. to 753 B.C., as Mr. Fotheringham suggests, is also probable, both for the reasons which Mr. Fotheringham gives, and for those which were given long ago by Dr. Goodwin from non-Eusebian evidence as to Hellenic ideas about Egypt. But nothing of this seems to me to prove anything as to the lost

Egyptian numeral in the Excerpt; and unless it is possible to show that the lost numeral agreed with Eusebius' calculation of the reign of Bocchoris, my suggestion that Eusebius either neglected, or did not know, the lost numeral, remains unanswered. On the other hand, even if it were possible to show that the Eusebian date for the Egyptian thalassocracy was based upon the lost numeral in the Excerpt, and that this numeral was 43, as Mr. Fotheringham conjectures, all that would be proved would be that in regard to Egypt the compiler of the List was working on some lost Greek tradition about Egypt: nothing would have been gained either in proof, or in disproof, of my suggestion that the numerals in places VI–VII correspond with certain actual sequences in Oriental history. Meanwhile, even the consistency of the Eusebian data can only be tested in cases where there is something to compare; and in the case of the lost numerals this something does not exist.

It was not, however, the consistency of the Eusebian data with themselves that I was mainly concerned to discuss in my article; but rather the accuracy, or the veracity, of the Eusebian chronology in general, when compared with that fragment of pre-Eusebian chronology—whatever its date—which is preserved in our mutilated 'List.' When every numeral in a series of seventeen items is liable even at the hands of its defenders to ruthless conjectural revision; when the limits of such revision range in individual instances from as little as two to as much as ten years; when the effect of these errors is cumulative as we recede from the starting-point, and when the starting-point of the list itself is admittedly five years wrong, it is permissible to doubt whether there can be any very positive evidence that the original Eusebian dates conformed at all closely to the numerals of the Excerpt or even that the general spacing of the Thalassocracies in the *Canones* stands in any very close relation to whatever chronological scheme the Excerpt may have embodied when it was entire.

That the thalassocracy-entries in the *Canones* formed a separate system by themselves is of course proved directly by the existence of the Excerpt, and is independent of any considerations derived from the use of red or black ink. What even Jerome meant by the use of red or black ink is far from clear; and what Eusebius meant by those features in his *Canones,* which suggested the use of red or black ink to Jerome, is obscurer still. Least of all is it clear from Mr. Fotheringham's discussion, or from any other sources with which I am acquainted, whether it was the Thalassocracy list which (with other such lists) formed the groundwork of chronology upon which the other events were spread about in their probable order, or whether the thalassocracy-entries (whether made in the margin or interpolated) represented rather a late phase of the compilation, and only found place in it at all, when the other Eusebian data had begun to give cumulative proof that any given state could only be credited with seapower between such and such dates. If the former theory be accepted, then either Eusebius did his work very badly, or his text needs re-writing, in the way Mr. Fotheringham has proposed, till it conforms to the data of which it is compounded; if the latter, it is a matter

of indifference what the text of the *Canones* may have contained, for *ex hypothesi* the numerals of the Excerpt were only retained when they happened to fit the Eusebian theory of history.

As to the Armenian version, meanwhile, Mr. Fotheringham is brought to the same conclusion as myself, that whatever the system may have been which these entries were intended to embody, they are scattered about in a manner which he rightly attributes to the 'general confusion of the chronology of this version.'

As Mr. Fotheringham's argument for the consistency of the Eusebian data has led him to discuss certain other Eusebian allusions to states which had seapower, I may perhaps be permitted to illustrate from these allusions the discrepancy between Eusebian chronology in general and our present knowledge either of fifth-century Greek chronology, or of the actual course of events as determined from non-Hellenic evidence either documentary or archaeological. By way of preface, note only that Mr. Fotheringham's argument, being confined (with one exception[1]) to Eusebian data, cannot lead to any conclusion as to the veracity of Eusebius, but only as to his consistency; whereas my own object has been throughout to test by non-Eusebian evidence the respective veracity of the Excerpt and of the *Canones*..

Mr. Fotheringham's instances refer only to four thalassocracies (besides Egypt) in or above the damaged part of the List—viz. to those of Caria, Miletus, Phoenicia, and Thrace.

(*a*) It is difficult to see how the Carian mercenaries in the service of Psammetichus, who did not begin to reign till 664 B.C., could be connected, as Mr. Fotheringham suggests, with a Carian seapower which began in 735 B.C. and was over by 674 B.C., unless we are to assume that we have here also one of those ingenious derangements of the entries by at least ten years.

(*b*) In the case of Miletus, the more Milesian events Eusebius puts into the neighbourhood of his Milesian seapower (748–730 B.C.) the worse for his reputation as a historian. His date for Naukratis (748 B.C.) is as utterly out of accord with fifth-century tradition[2] as it is with the archaeological evidence as to the earliest occupation of Naukratis, and with the other Egyptian evidence as to Bocchoris and the improbability of an Egyptian seapower earlier than 664 B.C. Similarly, a chronologer who, in face of Hdt. i. 74, was capable of putting Thales into the year 747 B.C, was capable of any imaginable muddle. Except from these late chronologers, we do not know much about the foundation-dates of Milesian colonies like Trapezus (or was it Cyzicus, as Jerome says?), which the *Canones* assign to 756 B.C.; and we know even less about the way in which the chronologers fixed these dates. Mr. Fotheringham seems to incline[3] to the view that the Thalassocracy-

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[1] The 'Tyrian' date for Carthage, quoted from Josephus, *c. Ap.* i. 17, 18.

[2] Hdt. ii. 178.

[3] But compare his discussion of the significance of red ink (p. 81) with his treatment of the Pelasgic thalassocracy (p. 83), which seems to proceed on the opposite hypothesis.

list formed part of the framework of the *Canones*; and if so, it would follow that the other dates were accommodated to it. But if so, these other dates are useless to determine the Eusebian view as to the proper place for the Milesian seapower—*i.e.* to show the extent of the interval, if any, which separates it from that of Phocaea below the gap in the list.

One point more, in regard to the foundation of Trapezus. If, as seems admitted, the foundation of Phocaean Massilia in 600 B.C. falls outside the period of Phocaean seapower, what becomes of Mr. Fotheringham's argument as to the connexion of Trapezus, if founded in 755 B.C., with a seapower of Miletus which did not begin till 748 B.C.? It is the case of the Carians of Psammetichus over again.

(*c*) The same criticism applies to the references to Phoenician seapower. To argue from a date for Solomon's Hiram to a date for Dido's Pygmalion is surely to confuse history and mythology. In any case, if I understand Mr. Fotheringham correctly, the Eusebian date for the Phoenician seapower has been adjusted to Josephus' 'Tyrian' date for Pygmalion, on the hypothesis that it was in the days of Pygmalion that Carthage was founded.[4] But who started this hypothesis? There is nothing, so far as I know, to support it in any Greek author before Alexandrian times, or in any extant non-Hellenic author, and it disagrees by something like two centuries with everything that is known, from the examination of Punic sites in Africa, Sardinia, or Sicily, as to the upward date of Punic adventure in those lands. The date, on the other hand, which I have proposed, on the clue furnished by the List, by the limiting dates for Egypt, and by the Assyrian record, fits all this archaeological evidence without difficulty, and disagrees merely with post-Alexandrian chronographers.

(*d*) The Thracian conquest of Bebrycia illustrates, once more, the uselessness of a chronological enquiry which does not go outside the chronologer's materials. Was the conquest of Bebrycia put down under 972 B.C., because this date fell within the Eusebian limits for Thracian seapower, or were the limits of Thracian seapower adjusted to include the Eusebian date for the conquest of Bebrycia? To argue from Eusebian data alone is either to reach no conclusion or to argue in a circle.

To his mention of Trapezus already noted, Mr. Fotheringham adds that 'with the accuracy' of this chronological system 'we are not concerned.' But it is precisely its accuracy, which, from the standpoint of my article, we are discussing. My whole contention is, in fact, that we know enough, by this time, from Egyptian and other non-Hellenistic sources, to be able to assert that neither Eusebius, nor Trogus, nor any other Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman chronologer knew anything of value about such matters as the foundation of Trapezus, except in so far as he used at least a fifth-century source: that between the fifth century and Alexandrian times a thorough

[4] Note meanwhile that we have been dealing here with only one out of a number of dates for the foundation of Carthage, ranging from 1042 B.C. (Jerome: 1038 B.C. Arm.) to 1013 B.C. (Jerome 1015 B.C. Arm.) and 853 B.C. (Jerome: 850 B.C. Arm.): and that the date for which Mr. Fotheringham cites Josephus does not seem to appear in the *Canones* at all.

obscuration of tradition took place; and that it is only by going back either to fifth-century historians, or to quite non-Hellenic data, that we can hope to re-construct the early history of Greece. Whether the Excerpt from Diodorus seems, or not, to preserve an echo of this earlier Hellenic tradition is consequently a matter on which Eusebian evidence proves inevitably nothing; especially if it be proved, as Mr. Fotheringham contends, to be based itself upon that Excerpt.

If I were to attempt, in fact, to fix my position, on the whole question, in a phrase, in face of Mr. Fotheringham's criticisms, I should do so best, I think, by a re-arrangement of his own peroration. 'Inquiries into its value,' I should say of the Eusebian List, 'are bound to be fruitless, unless the restoration of the list is regarded as a matter of historical explanation, independent of the problem of textual criticism.'

JOHN L. MYRES.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Homer and His Age. By ANDREW LANG. Illustrated. Pp. xii+336. London: Longmans, 1906. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Lang here returns to contentions advanced some years ago in *Homer and the Epic*. His stimulus appears to have been supplied by the appearance of Mr. Leaf's *Iliad* in 1902; and now he once more goes full tilt at the Separatists, asserting that these are much more discrepant and inconsistent in statement than the Homeric lays themselves, and criticising them in the light of more or less recent archaeology and of a 'literary judgment,' which is fortified by a wide knowledge of early epic literature in other languages than Greek. Briefly he sets out to show that the discrepancies in Homer are not greater than would be made by any one author in an age of vigorous and moving culture; that the efforts made to convict the poet or poets of archaism fail; that the arguments used to prove archaism in some passages or connexions and realism in others are absurd; and that the lays do represent very fairly a single civilisation. He sees no difficulty, in view of recent Cretan discoveries, about supposing the poems to have been written down at an early age—an age, in fact, much earlier than the Cyclic poets, not to mention Peisistratus; and by the way he makes much of Mr. Leaf's change of view concerning the relative probability of a Homeric School and of a Peisistratean Recension. Judging by the ideas embodied in the Cyclic poems, Mr. Lang would put the stereotyping of the *Iliad* (with which he is almost exclusively concerned) some way back behind 800 B.C. He makes a good defence for unity both in authorship and time; but he seems to have overlooked, in advancing arguments from the Cyclic poems, and comparing other Epics, one important fact, viz. that culture in *Ionia* (where there is much reason to place the origin of the poems) had not necessarily the same history as in Greece; and that poems might have arisen at the same time on the two sides of the Aegean, reflecting incongruous, but, in neither case, anachronistic ideas. What would have been archaistic in Greece in the seventh century was not necessarily archaistic in Ionia. While regarding the Greek lands as endowed with too uniform a civilisation in the post-Mycenaean Age, Mr. Lang also seems to treat the 'Mycenaean' remains too much as one, and not to take sufficient account of possibly wide intervals in date between, *e.g.* the later Palace at Cnossus, the Enkomi Treasure, and the 'Treasure from one of the Greek Islands' in the British Museum. When an author has to base his arguments on the multifarious and often provisional statements of archaeologists groping their way towards the light in the dim ages before history, and does not know the *Realien* himself, his foothold is often perilous in the extreme.

Pour mieux connaître Homère. Par MICHEL BRÉAL. Pp. viii.+309. Paris: Hachette et Cie. [1907.] 3 f. 50.

M. Bréal brings to the study of the Homeric question an acute mind trained in other fields; and, as usual in such cases, his contribution is fresh, original, and stimulating.

He brushes aside the theory, which at one time found considerable favour in Germany, that the Homeric poems, so to speak, grew of themselves, without any particular author: a theory which only has to be stated in clear language to lose whatever plausibility it derived from nebulous circumlocutions. Nevertheless he does not assign them to a single author. His argument is that they are the product of a highly developed civilization, and were written by a group of professional poets at some wealthy court in Asia Minor. Their supposed simplicity of manners is conventional archaism; their language is a mixed literary dialect, which drew elements from various sources. M. Bréal finds the necessary conditions for such productions in the court of Lydia in the seventh century, and believes the poems to have been written by a group of Greek poets, under Alyattes or Croesus, for recitation at the great games. This exposition of his views occupies only 130 short pages, and is not worked out in detail; but his arguments are quite sufficiently indicated, and are clearly and attractively expressed. The rest of the volume is occupied by 144 short articles on single Homeric words, on the lines of Buttmann's *Lexilogus*, but on a smaller scale. It is a book to be recommended to Homeric students, and has the merit of being very readable.

Anthologia Graeca Epigrammatum Palatina cum Planudea. Edidit H. STADTMUELLER. Vol. III. pars 1, Palatinae libri ix epp. 1–563, Planudeae l. 1 continens. Pp vi+584. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.

Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology. Edited with revised text, translation, introduction, and notes, by J. W. MACKAIL. New edition. Pp. xi+433. London: Longmans, 1906. 14*s*. net.

The same. Greek text only. Pp. 175. 2*s*. net.

The satisfaction with which scholars will receive a new part of Stadtmuller's critical edition of the Anthology will be seriously damped by regret at the death of the editor before the completion of his task. The present instalment, though of full size to rank as a volume by itself, is described as the first part of vol. iii, and it appears before the second part of vol. ii. It is needless to describe Stadtmüller's work, which is indispensable to all serious students of the Anthology. Unfortunately it appeared too late to be used by Prof. Mackail, 59 of whose selected 500 epigrams come from the portion of book ix included in the present volume. Textual details are, however, the least important part of Prof. Mackail's work, the appearance of which in a new edition is very welcome, since the original edition (1890) has long been out of print. Without forgetting Symonds' excellent and inspiriting essay, it may safely be said that Prof. Mackail's selection, with its prefatory essay and notes, forms the best introduction to the Anthology on its literary side. The new edition differs only slightly in contents from its predecessor (ten epigrams have been omitted and twenty added), but it has been carefully revised throughout. The only drawback is its price, which will compel many who would have read it with profit and interest to deny themselves that pleasure. It is some compensation that the Greek text is now separately issued in a cheap and attractive form, which will make a delightful pocket companion; but it is a pity that Prof. Mackail's introduction should not be made more generally accessible.

Isocratis Opera Omnia: recensuit E. DRERUP. Vol. I. Pp. cxcix+196. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906. 14 m.

A critical edition of Isocrates has long been needed, and the appearance of the first volume of Dr. Drerup's work shows that the want is in a fair way to be supplied. It contains the text of the first thirteen orations, with *testimonia* and critical apparatus, and full prolegomena. The latter include not only a description of the textual materials but a discussion of the dates and authenticity of the orations comprised in this volume.

Textually, Isocrates is remarkable on account of the existence of two papyrus manuscripts of considerable length, which carry us back to a stage in the tradition before the two main families of vellum MSS. diverged. One of these, the Marseilles papyrus of the *In Nicoclem*, comes into use in the present volume; the other, the British Museum papyrus of the *De Pace*, will be of service in a subsequent volume. Dr. Drerup can be trusted to make full use of it, since he has examined the original at length; and since his results have been revised and extended by Mr. H. I. Bell (whose complete edition of the papyrus appeared in the *Journal of Philology* last year) there need be no hesitation in accepting them as trustworthy. The continuation of Dr. Drerup's edition will be awaited with interest.

Paralipomena Sophoclea: supplementary notes on the text and interpretation of Sophocles, by Lewis Campbell, M.A. Pp. xv+287. London: Rivingtons, 1907. 5*s*. net.

In this volume Prof. Campbell puts on record his final opinion on a large number of passages in Sophocles in which his original interpretation differed from that adopted by Sir R. C. Jebb. In some cases he frankly adopts Jebb's view; in others he shows cause for maintaining his previous opinion; occasionally he offers a fresh explanation altogether. Admirable as Jebb's edition is, it stands to reason that it cannot be final in all respects, and no one has a better right than Campbell, whose life has been spent in the study of Attic literature, to express dissent and put on record alternative views. And the tone which he adopts towards his great rival (or let us rather say colleague) is in all respects admirable. Since the book consists wholly of short notes on a great quantity of passages, it is obviously impossible to discuss it in detail here; but it will have to be taken into consideration by future editors, and it comes opportunely, since the Oxford Press will soon, we hope, be including Sophocles in its series of classical authors.

Bacchilide: epinici, ditirambi, e frammenti, con introduzione, comento, e appendice critica. Di A. Taccone. Pp. li+218. Torino: Loescher, 1907. Lire 3.50.

English students do not in general require any further edition of Bacchylides than Jebb's; but to those who desire a smaller or a cheaper book, which nevertheless contains a full commentary on the poems, Taccone's work may be recommended as serviceable and convenient. He has made full use of the previous literature on the subject, so that the reader is placed in possession of the views that other scholars have taken of the restoration or explanation of doubtful passages. The editor's original contributions are not large, but he has carefully considered the work of others, and his edition should be very useful to Italian students.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion. By J. G. FRAZER. Pp. 356. London: Macmillan, 1906. 10*s*. net.

In the preface to this book Dr. Frazer explains that the studies of Oriental cults are an expansion of the corresponding sections in the *Golden Bough*, and will form part of the third edition of that work. A careful student of the author's previous books will perhaps be prepared for the general conclusions; but the expansion is so considerable that readers of the *Golden Bough* will find it necessary to revise their ideas of Adonis and other kindred deities in the light of these later studies. Not only is much of the material new, but there is also some difference in the treatment: in method, Dr. Frazer lays greater stress on the effect produced on Oriental religion by the natural features of the East; in tone, there is

a distinct change from the first (and, to a less extent, from the second) edition of the *Golden Bough*. Dr. Frazer is no longer content to allow the many analogies between ancient cults and modern Christianity to speak for themselves, and he frankly states his own conclusions on some of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion.

The general argument of the book may be briefly stated in the author's own words 'under the names of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, the peoples of Egypt and western Asia represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially of vegetable life, which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead. In name and detail the rites varied from place to place: in substance they were the same' (p. 5). It is impossible, however, to do justice in a short notice to the learning and wealth of illustration which support the argument. An interesting feature is the explanation of customs or myths concerned with the burning of gods or kings, as possibly due to 'a conception of the purifying virtue of fire, which, by destroying the corruptible and perishable elements of man, was supposed to fit him for union with the imperishable and divine' (p. 100). Dr. Frazer suggests that, as men might attain to divinity by burning, so the gods themselves might be refreshed and renovated by the ordeal of fire. The account of the myth and ritual of Attis contains much that is new and striking, and the repulsive part of the cult gains a fresh significance from Dr. Frazer's exhaustive treatment. His conclusion, that the spread of Oriental religions in the West was one of the chief causes that undermined ancient civilization is no doubt true; but his attack on the 'selfish and immoral doctrine' of 'the commune of the soul with God and its eternal salvation as the only object worth living for' (p. 194) will seem to many a prejudiced and unfair presentment of the ideals of early and medieval Christianity, which Dr. Frazer has in mind (p. 195). The final chapters, on Osiris, are a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of a subject of great complexity.

The Cults of the Greek States. By L. R. Farnell. Volumes III., IV. Vol. III.: pp. xii+392, with 35 Plates; Vol. IV.: pp. viii+454, with 51 Plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. 32s. net.

After an interval of more than ten years Dr. Farnell has published a second instalment of his 'Cults,' the new volumes dealing with the Earth-goddesses (Ge, Demeter, Kore-Persephone), Poseidon, and Apollo. The work has grown beyond the bounds which the author originally contemplated; three volumes in all were proposed in 1895, whereas in the preface to vol. iii. it is announced that the book will be completed in five volumes, the last to discuss Hermes, Dionysus, and minor cults. In vol. i. there was room for Zeus, Hera, and Athena, while Demeter and Kore have practically filled an entire volume. Except in the matter of expansion (and this is a distinct gain), Dr. Farnell has preserved all the features which marked the two earlier volumes, the chapter devoted to the cults being followed by chapters on the monuments and ideal type of each deity. It is noticeable that Dr. Farnell now lays somewhat greater stress on the results of anthropological study: quotations from Mannhardt, Lang, and Frazer are certainly more numerous than before, especially in the treatment of Demeter and Kore, where, indeed, the evidence of the comparative method cannot be neglected. He does not, however, overestimate the importance of anthropology, and reminds us that 'its application to the higher facts of our religious history might be combined with more caution and more special knowledge than has always been shown hitherto' (*pref.* p. iv). The author himself is eminently cautious in his own treatment of Demeter and of problems connected with the Thesmophoria and Eleusinian mysteries. He will have nothing to do with a corn-totem, remarking that there is no evidence for its existence in Greece (iii. p. 137); he does not believe that the Thesmophoria can be explained by the theory that the invention of agriculture and the cultivation of cereals were due to women; and he is equally sceptical with regard to the matriarchal hypothesis, by which Miss Harrison and others account for

the Thesmophoria, among many other rites in Greek religion. His own view is that 'the psychological explanation is more probable than the sociological' (p. 111); women were in charge of the Thesmophoria because they are apt to be more ecstatic and orgiastic, and so hold a stronger magic, whereby they are more in sympathy with the earth-goddess, whose generative powers resemble their own. His criticism of the matriarchate question is a useful corrective to a theory which, as applied to Greek religion, has lately shown a tendency to run riot. Equally sane is the discussion of the Eleusinia, a problem exhaustively treated within the limits which the author imposes upon himself. On the question, is there a secret worth discovery, and, if so, can it be discovered? Dr. Farnell comes to the conclusion that the fast, the mystic food, the passion-play, and the objects revealed to the mystics produced, not a sense of absolute union with the divine nature, but at least a feeling of intimacy and friendship with deities who were powerful in the nether world, and could there reward their worshippers. The στάχυς τεθερισμένος, on which so much stress has been laid, was not an object of worship, but one of the number of things reverentially displayed.

The greater part of vol. iv. is assigned to Apollo, whose origin and cults are discussed with good judgment. The title Λύκειος appears to belong to the oldest stratum of Apolline religion, and as it can only mean 'wolf-god,' it implies a reverence for the wolf in a hunting or pastoral stage of society; but here again Dr. Farnell points out that this respect need not be totemistic (p. 116). On the original significance of Apollo he is very guarded, holding that the orthodox theory of an Aryan sun-god is *a priori* very possible, but cannot be proved; the ordinary Greek, until the time of Euripides and Plato, did not identify or associate Apollo with Helios, and Greek cult gives little support to the solar theory. Dr. Farnell acknowledges that the reaction against the extravagances of the solar myth may be pushed too far; and it is perhaps a question whether his own treatment of Apollo is not a case in point. The appellative Φοῖβος is certainly connected with φάος, and is most naturally explained as the epithet or name of a light-god. When the author remarks that no one would maintain that the Sanskrit 'Devas' are all sun-gods, he seems to miss a distinction: if, in one mythology, all gods are called 'bright ones,' the title may well mean 'heavenly'—a common appellative of a class; but if, in another mythology, a similar name is the exclusive property of a single god, it is hard to resist the inference that this god was the 'bright one' *par excellence*, i.e. the sun. Again, Dr. Farnell depreciates the evidence afforded by the name of Φοίβη, of whom he says that 'nothing in her legend or genealogy clearly reveals any solar trait.' There is of course no question about *solar* traits; but if Phoebe is a *lunar* goddess, as is implied by her later identification with Selene, we have thus indirect evidence that in primitive times the sun and moon were called Φοῖβος and Φοίβη respectively. It is however a fact, as Robert has already pointed out (Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* i. p. 231), that the sun-theory rests on no evidence from cult, popular poetry, or art; and it is well for us to be reminded that the identification of Apollo with the sun really belongs to the same kind of ancient speculation that derived Hera from the air. In any case, the true importance of Apollo lies in his greatness as a political, social and ethical divinity, and in these respects Dr. Farnell's admirable account leaves nothing to be desired. The 'ideal types' of Apollo are chosen and discussed with discrimination, and show that the author is as sound in art-criticism as in dealing with Greek religion. Scholars will welcome the completion of Dr. Farnell's task, which is promised for next year; meanwhile we may congratulate him on a work which cannot fail to be ranked among the most important of contributions to our knowledge of Greek religion.

The Art of the Greeks. By H. B. Walters. Pp. 277; 112 plates, and 18 figs. in text. London: Methuen and Co. [1906]. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

The author makes a general survey of the leading branches of Greek art. After two chapters devoted to preliminary considerations, he discusses in turn the Architecture,

Sculpture, Painting, Vases, Terracottas, Engraved Gems, Coins, and Metal work of the Greeks. In each case, the elementary facts are stated, as far as may be, in chronological sequence.

The illustrations are for the most part half-tone blocks, printed as plates. In many cases, the results are brilliant.

Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire. Written for the Quatercentenary of the University of Aberdeen by seven of its Graduates. Edited by W. M. RAMSAY. [Aberdeen University Studies, No. 20.] Pp. xvi+391. 11 Plates, 3 Maps, and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Aberdeen University Press, 1906.

The title sufficiently explains the motive for the appearance of this book, although it is somewhat misleading as an indication of the contents, seeing that they are confined to Asia Minor, and indeed for the most part to Sir William Ramsay's special preserve, Phrygia and the surrounding districts, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Isauria. The volume is a remarkable monument to the editor's genius for exploration and for inspiring others with his own enthusiasm for a subject from which interesting results can only be extracted by the exercise of much painful research. Of the seven contributors, the names of Miss Margaret Ramsay, Mr. Callander, and Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, as well as of the editor, are familiar to readers of this *Journal*. Miss Ramsay's contribution on Isaurian and East-Phrygian Art in the Third and Fourth Centuries after Christ is, in fact, a development of her recent article on that subject. It is the only one of the articles of much interest to the student of ancient art. It is a conscientious and useful piece of work, but it is doubtful whether its value is not diminished by the exaggeration of the importance of this local art. In the conclusion that 'the mountain land of Northern Isauria . . . was the place of origin of a new kind of decorative art, which spread widely over the Roman world' we recognize an alarming development of Dr. Strzygowski's theories. Mr. J. G. C. Anderson has an important paper on Paganism and Christianity in N. Phrygia. The editor contributes a Report on Exploration in Phrygia and Lycaonia, and also prints his Rede lecture on the War of Moslem and Christian for the possession of Asia Minor. His most valuable contribution is on the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends: perhaps an Anti-Christian Society on the Imperial Estates at Pisidian Antioch. Some brief contributions in verse (English, Latin, and Greek) give to this University publication a characteristically British touch. Though some of the facsimiles of inscriptions leave much to be desired, the printing and illustrations are good, and the volume as a whole thoroughly worthy of the occasion.

The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill, Dumbartonshire. By GEORGE MACDONALD and ALEXANDER PARK. With a note on the architectural details by THOMAS ROSS. Pp. xii+150. With 4 plates and 54 illustrations. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1906. 5*s*. net.

This is a clear and ably written account of one of the most interesting contributions that recent excavations have made to our knowledge of Roman Britain. Considerable praise is due to Mr. Whitelaw, the owner of the property on which the camps are situated, who carried out the excavations at his own expense; and he is also to be congratulated on having entrusted the Report to Messrs. Macdonald and Park. He must already have felt amply rewarded when, on the very first morning, the workmen struck a well which had been filled up with a most extraordinary collection of antiquities. No such exciting find was made in the subsequent excavation, but the plans of the Antonine fort and of Agricola's amp which preceded it were recovered in some detail. Two inscriptions (one being a

dedication to the Emperor Pius, and both mentioning the first Baetasian cohort) and some curious, apparently prophylactic, busts of freestone, not to speak of architectural fragments, are among the stone remains. The most remarkable of all the relics is an admirably made chariot-wheel of eleven spokes, found intact in a refuse-hole. The authors give good reason for supposing that this and similarly made wheels are not Roman but native in origin. Among the other remains are a fine set of leather shoes of various kinds ; a small series of denarii (mostly *shams*, made of tin, apparently for the purpose of dedication to the gods !) ; and some remarkable instruments of deer-horn, similar to others which were found to the number of thirty-two in the armoury of Carnuntum. So far no one has succeeded in explaining the object of these instruments, and the problem may be commended to the consideration of readers of a mechanical turn of mind. The Report is well illustrated, and more interesting reading than such reports usually are.

Antike Denkmaeler in Bulgarien. Edited by E. KALINKA (with nine collaborators). Vienna Academy, 1906. (Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquar. Abt. IV.) 220 pages, 162 figs. and many facsimiles.

This volume is a provisional Corpus of the architectonic, epigraphic, and sculptural remains of Bulgaria, classified according to subject matter. 471 objects are admirably catalogued, with adequate illustrations of all the sculptures; with facsimiles or illustrations of all the inscriptions and with copious indices.

With the exception of a single item (No. 333, the early Greek stele of Anaxandros), the whole of the works described appear to be of a late and provincial class. They are now made conveniently accessible, and it is possible to take a general view of the extant antiquities of Bulgaria.

Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung. [Handbücher der alten Geschichte.] Von Justin V. PRÁŠEK. Erster Band. Geschichte der Meder und des Reichs der Lander. Gotha, 1906.

This, the first volume of a History of the Medes and Persians, is divided into two parts. The first deals with the Kingdom founded by the Medes. Here the chief points of interest to the student of Greek history are the account of the Cimmerian invasion and the discussion of the relative value of the authority of Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Ctesias of Cnidus, the last named the physician long resident at the court of Artaxerxes. The second part is devoted to the rise of the Persians and the foundation of their Empire under Cyrus. The fall of Croesus and the expedition of Cambyses to Egypt are the events which touch most closely upon Greek history. The volume closes with the revolt of the false Bardes and the death of Cambyses. The book is valuable as presenting from the standpoint of the Orientalist many events which are generally regarded solely from the Greek point of view. The second volume will carry the history of Persia down to the fall of the Empire of the Achaemenidae before the victorious Alexander.

Hat Dörpfeld die Enneakrunos-episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst, oder auf welchem Wege kann diese gelöst werden? Einige Bemerkungen zu Judeich's Topographie von Athen. Von Alexander Malinin. 35 pp. Wien. 1906.

This pamphlet on a threadbare theme justifies its existence by a new suggestion. M. Malinin points out that in Paus. 1. 14. 5 the temple of Eucleia is described as *ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων*, though no reference to the Persians occurs immediately before. In fact the nearest reference to the Persians is in 1. 8. 6, the passage about the statues of the

Tyrannicides. Hence he infers that the chapters between have been interpolated; and it so happens that those chapters just contain the whole of the 'Enneakrunos-episode': if they be omitted, the description of the agora is continuous. Thus Dr. Malinin claims to have found indications of the wrong insertion of the 'episode' in this place. If he would go on, and point out where is the place in which it ought to be inserted, he would have a complete and consistent theory as good as any that has been suggested on the matter. Naturally those who see no need for assuming the insertion of the 'episode' will not be convinced by his explanation.

Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen; mit einem Beitrage von G. KAIBEL; herausg. von A. WILHELM. Pp. 279. 68 Abbildungen. [Sonderschr. des Oest. Archäol. Institutes, Bd. VI.] Wien: Holder, 1906.

This volume, as its title and the names of its authors alone suffice to indicate, is of capital importance and indispensable to all students of the history of Greek drama. The epigraphic documents dealt with fall into three classes: (1) the list of victors at the Dionysia (*I.G.* ii. 971); (2) the Didaskaliai (*I.G.* ii. 972–976 and 1315; (3) the lists of victors,—tragic and comic poets and actors—(*I.G.* ii. 977). The first is the famous list which in the first few lines mentions Pericles and the poets Magnes and Aeschylus, recording the latter's victory with the *Persae* in 473–2 B.C. Dr. Wilhelm leaves the headline in the form *πρῶτ]ον κῶμοι ἦσαν τῶ[ι Διονύσωι*, rejecting with good reason Koehler's restoration *τῶ[ν τραγωιδῶν καὶ τῶν κωμωιδῶν*, but not deciding between the many other possibilities. Three new fragments are added to this list. The mention of Menander in the list of victors (ii. 977) enables Dr. Wilhelm to give an interesting note on the date of his first appearance (he first represented 322–1, was first successful with the *Ὀργή*, in 316–5) and on the date of the *Ἑαυτὸν Τιμωρούμενος*, showing that the king mentioned in Terence *Heaut.* 117 is not necessarily Alexander the Great. Kaibel's contribution to the volume is an interesting discussion of the chronological problems involved in the lists of victors. A series of appendices deals with various side issues, and with recent works by Capps and Foucart bearing on the history of the drama. The volume is characterised by the thoroughness and acumen which is to be found in all Dr. Wilhelm's epigraphic publications, and is admirably printed and indexed.

Histoire Sommaire des Études d'Épigraphie grecque. Par S. CHABERT. Pp. 166. Paris: Leroux. 1906.

M. Chabert's account of the study of Greek inscriptions from the earliest times (he begins with Hellanicus) to the present day is very readable, giving somewhat more than the dry bones of what does not at first sight seem a very attractive subject. The origin and methods of the various attempts at a Corpus are fully explained, and the treatment generally is sympathetic. Perhaps the writer is a little unkind to Fourmont, who, as Wilhelm has recently shown, is not in all respects so black as he has been painted. Some minor inaccuracies, especially in foreign names, are noticeable. Of books about or bearing on inscriptions which are mentioned not at all or not in their natural place, we may note Bechtel's monograph on Ionic inscriptions, Kern's *Magnesia*, Lowy's inscriptions of sculptors, H. J. Rose's *Inscriptiones Graecae vetustissimae*, the third edition of Meisterhans by Schwyzer, von Scala's *Treaties*, and Kirchner's *Prosopographia*. Cust's *History of the Society of Dilettanti* is later than Michaelis' account, and the British School at Athens has a Government grant.

The Syntax of the Boeotian Dialect Inscriptions. By EDITH F. CLAFLIN. (Bryn Mawr Diss.) Pp. 95. Baltimore, Lord Baltimore Press, 1905.

Miss Claflin's study of the Boeotian Inscriptions from the point of view of syntax is a very careful piece of work, the real value of which will perhaps be more apparent when she or other scholars may have with equal patience similarly analysed the inscriptions of other dialects. It will then be possible to obtain a true perspective of the syntactical peculiarities of the various dialects. The present analysis reveals comparatively little that is peculiar to Boeotian; partly, it is true, because the brevity or official character of most inscriptions hardly admits of much syntactical elaboration. In § 9. 4 it is a little surprising that the writer should hesitate to decide between vocative and genitive in the grave-inscription *I.G.A.* 149: Καλλία Αἰγί(θ)θοιο· τὺ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ[σ' ὦ] παροδῶτα. The genitive seems to us undoubtedly the right interpretation. The reason for the use of the genitive in dating by months might have been more clearly stated in § 9. 29: a phrase like Θυνάρχω ἄρχοντος μεινὸς Θειλουθίω of course expresses an extended period, not a point of time. It is interesting to note that while ἐπόειστε is common in artists' signatures, the imperfect does not occur.

Corolla Numismatica. Numismatic Essays in Honour of BARCLAY V. HEAD. Pp. xvi +386. Oxford University Press, 1906. With frontispiece, 18 collotype plates, and 39 illustrations in the text. 30*s*.

That this sumptuous volume is of the nature of a *Festschrift* is sufficiently clear from its title. The recognition it implies has been richly merited; and it is pleasant to find that the 'little crown' is in every way worthy of the purpose it was meant to serve. Mr. G. F. Hill has acted as editor, while the individual essayists number thirty in all. The continental countries best represented are Germany and France, but tributes come also from Denmark, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland. The variety of subjects handled is naturally very great. There is hardly a side of ancient numismatics that is not touched upon, and consequently no reader is likely to be sent empty away. In point of time, discussion ranges from the Mycenaean age to the days of the Byzantine Emperors. Its geographical limits lie between Gaul on the one hand and India on the other. Esoteric disquisitions on problems of metrology and technique are agreeably diversified by excursions into the less arid domains of history and archaeology. As a rule, each of the essays has an importance of its own in the present state of our knowledge, while a few of them are probably destined to be permanently valuable. It is eminently fitting that so noteworthy a collection should be associated with the name of Mr. Head.

In the circumstances it is not possible to give, within reasonable space, any detailed indication of the character of the contents. Selection on the ground of merit might be invidious. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to merely mentioning two or three of the papers that may fairly be regarded as typical. None will attract more general interest than M. Babelon's publication of an obol bearing the name of the Athenian tyrant Hippias. Prof. Dressel's reconstruction of the temple of Matidia and the basilicas of Matidia and Marciana is very tempting, although it depends upon the rehabilitation of a medallion condemned as false by Eckhel. Colonel Allotte de la Fuye's classification of the coins of Persis marks a distinct advance towards the solution of a most obscure and difficult series of questions. What M. Paul Perdrizet has to say of Nicopolis ad Mestum deserves the particular attention of students of mythology. Mr. A. J. Evans opens up new vistas in his account of Minoan weights and mediums of currency. Dr. Gaebler traces the history of the famous coin collection of Queen Christina of Sweden. But we must forbear, adding only that for the numismatic enthusiast there is scarcely a dull page in the book. The collotype plates are good; and the portrait of Mr. Head, which forms the frontispiece, is excellent. In the nature of things the compilation of an index was impracticable.

Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia. By HUGO GAEBLER. Erste Abteilung. Pp. viii + 196. With five collotype plates. Berlin: Reimer, 1906. 19 m.

It is just twenty years since Mommsen formulated his colossal scheme for the publication of a complete and articulated description of all known Greek coins. Work was begun shortly afterwards under the supreme direction of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer. The first half of Vol. I. appeared in 1898. Now, after an interval of eight years, we have a second instalment of this monumental *Corpus*. It forms the opening section of Vol. III., the coinages dealt with being the national and provincial issues of Macedonia, including Amphaxitis, Bottiaea, and Beroea. The book fully maintains the high standard set by Prof. Pick's *Dacien und Moesien*. Dr. Gaebler is to be unreservedly congratulated. Not only has he established a remarkable series of conclusions on a basis that promises to be irrefragable; he has set them before his readers with a lucidity and a precision that call for the very warmest praise. His Introduction is peculiarly hard to summarize, for it does not contain a single superfluous word. But its contents are so full of interest that a bare *résumé* must be attempted.

Philip II. had signalized the consolidation of his power by suppressing the various autonomous mints throughout Macedonia. Conversely, when Philip V. found himself on the eve of a deadly struggle with Rome, he sought to enlist national feeling on his side by sanctioning a revival of the national coinage. This national coinage came to an end with the overthrow of the kingdom in 168 B.C. The victorious Romans divided the country into four administrative districts or 'regions' (μερίδες), of which the 'first' and the 'second' struck both silver and bronze, while (so far as we know) the 'fourth' struck bronze only and the 'third' never struck at all. The coinage of the 'regions' began about 158 B.C., and the output of tetradrachms from the 'first' district must have been enormous. In 150 B.C. occurred the revolt of Andriscus. The praetor, P. Juventius Thalna, who was despatched against him, opened the campaign by seizing Amphipolis, where he struck tetradrachms with types borrowed from the preceding series, but showing a marked difference in style, and bearing an olive branch (θαλλός) as a 'canting badge.' Presently Thalna was totally defeated by Andriscus, who in his turn proceeded to strike tetradrachms at Amphipolis. The old types were still used; but the obnoxious 'LEG[*atus pro quaestore*]'—which the Romans had introduced—was banished, and the head of Artemis was bound with a laurel-wreath in token of victory. After the overthrow of Andriscus by Q. Caecilius Metellus in 148 B.C., Macedonia became a Roman province. Dr. Gaebler gives a careful list of the names of all the Roman magistrates who are known to have been associated with the government of Macedonia from 148 B.C. down to the reign of Philippus Senior, and we are thus provided with a convenient epitome of the various changes that the form of administration underwent. During the republican era the right of mintage was occasionally exercised by the Roman governors, as, for instance, L. Fulcinnius and C. Publilius, quaestors of Metellus Macedonicus (148–146 B.C.). Under L. Julius Caesar (93–92 B.C.) and C. Sentius Saturninus (92–88 B.C.) there was a renewal of the silver-mining industry, and tetradrachms were minted very freely. The bulk of this money bears the name of Aesillas, as quaestor. But there are two specimens signed by his successor, Q. Bruttius Sura, as *legatus pro quaestore*.

Under the Empire the Macedonian coinage falls into two great classes,—imperial pieces proper, and pieces without an imperial portrait. Dr. Gaebler has been able to accumulate for this period a mass of material that is practically exhaustive, and the deductions he has been able to draw are correspondingly illuminating. Apart from their direct bearing on Macedonian history, they have a wider interest in connexion with the general questions that centre round the κοινόν and the νεωκορία, institutions that are more familiar in Asia Minor than in Europe. The peculiarly 'agonistic' character of the later coinage is well brought out, while an Appendix describes about thirty varieties of gold and silver medals or medallions which also appear to have been connected with the ἀγῶνες ἱεροί. The huge gold medallions of the Tarsus find, for example, are to be associated with the ἀγὼν ἱερός celebrated in honour of the νεωκορία granted to Beroea in the reign of Elagabalus.

It is matter for considerable regret that a discussion of the 'Aboukir' medallions is relegated to the Supplement. The Plates approach as near as may be to perfection.

Die Griechischen Münzen der Sammlung Warren. By KURT REGLING. Pp. viii+264. With 37 photographic plates. Berlin: Reimer, 1906. 40 m.

The 1769 Greek coins herein described belonged to Mr. E. P. Warren of Lewes. They include 1016 that once formed the singularly choice cabinet of Canon Greenwell. It was originally intended that the whole should pass into the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. But this intention has only been partially fulfilled; some of the coins remain in Lewes, others were sold in London in 1905. Prior to the collection being thus broken up, it was decided to compile a permanent record of its contents. Those responsible were fortunately able to secure the services of Dr. Regling for the purpose, and the result is the handsome volume now under notice,—a book that no student of Greek numismatics can afford to neglect. The issues of the best period, from all parts of the Greek world, are fairly well represented. But specimens of the electrum of Cyzicus and of the gold and silver of Sicily, Abdera, Lampsacus, and Cyrene are specially numerous and important. For the most part the individual coins have been selected from the point of view of one who combined the instincts of the collector with the tastes of the scholar. As a result, we get many examples that are very fine, a considerable number that are rare, and a few that are unique. Regling's descriptions are characterized by the care and thoroughness that were to be expected from so competent a numismatist. Particular value attaches to identifications of dies with those of coins published elsewhere. Useful notes abound, and there are frequent references to recent numismatic literature. Taken all over, the Plates are good.

Terina. Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste. By KURT REGLING. Pp. 81. With 3 Photographic plates and 2 cuts in the text. Berlin: Reimer, 1906.

The beautiful series of didrachms struck at Terina is a great favourite with all lovers of Greek coins. Nearly twenty-five years ago (1883) many of them were illustrated in a paper published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* by the late R. S. Poole. The present monograph is far more complete than anything hitherto attempted. It is practically an exhaustive list of all known specimens. The number of distinct varieties catalogued (apart from plated coins) is 84. Guided by stylistic considerations, combined with a minute study of the dies, Regling distributes these over seven periods covering the years between 480 and 356 B.C. The most interesting of the periods is that generally associated with the handiwork of an engraver Φ. The opinions of other numismatists regarding this artist are passed in review, and at least one fresh piece of evidence is adduced. The final conclusion is that it is an abbreviation of the name Phrygillos, and that the little bird, which appears both at Terina and at Thurii, is a 'canting badge' (φρυγίλος). An examination of the types suggests that the well-known female figure is neither a nymph nor a Siren, but Nike,—an explanation that has already had its advocates: any peculiarities in the representation are to be accounted for by assuming a 'syncretism' with the city goddess, Terina. Incidentally, *circa* 300 B.C. is fixed upon as the most probable date for the issue of the silver tetrobols. The bronze coinage also receives brief discussion. Altogether, this 'Programm' is an excellent bit of work. The Plates are admirable.

Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit: Laut- und Wortlehre. Von E. MAYSER. Pp. xiv+538. Leipzig: Teubner, 1906.

So long ago as 1898 Prof. Mayser published, in a Heilbronn Programm, the first part of a grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri, dealing with the vowel phenomena presented by them. Since that date the materials have greatly increased, mainly through the publication of the Tebtunis papyri and the third part of the Petrie papyri (the Hibeh papyri were published too late to be taken into account), and Prof. Mayser has now rehandled the whole subject on a larger scale,—a scale so large, indeed, that it is not likely that any word in the published Ptolemaic papyri has escaped his notice. The present volume deals with phonetics and accidence; a second is promised upon the syntax. In a department of learning where the materials are constantly increasing so rapidly as is the case with Greek papyri, it is impossible to expect finality; but as a very full conspectus of the extant phenomena Prof. Mayser's book will be a useful work of reference for some time to come

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Life in Ancient Athens. [Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities.] By T. G. TUCKER. Pp. xiii+212. With 85 illustrations and a map. London: Macmillan and Co., 1907.

This is in many ways quite a remarkable little book. It is written in an extremely fresh and attractive style, which is well maintained throughout. It is quite unpretentious: not a single reference to authorities is given in the body of the work. Yet there are abundant evidences that the author has an intimate acquaintance with Greek literature and no slight knowledge of Greek archaeology. The period dealt with comprises the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and all the varied interests of Athenian life at that period both public and private, are vividly presented. The different chapters describe the buildings the Athenian saw around him, how he spent his time day by day, what he wore, how he brought up his children, what was his religious belief, and other similar interests of life. The main characteristics of Athenian art are briefly dealt with. Perhaps we should like to have heard a little more about the average Athenian's attitude towards Imperial questions. It may be noted also (a trivial point) that the spelling of place-names in the map does not always agree with that adopted in the text. The illustrations are, with one or two exceptions, excellent.

The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea. By SIR RENNELL RODD. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 655. London: E. Arnold, 1907. 25*s*. net.

Sir Rennell Rodd unfolds an interesting story of mediaeval Greece, which has probably been known to English readers chiefly through the more limited studies of Finlay, Tozer, and Bury. Gibbon, who had not the necessary material, dismissed the subject with a lordly sentence:—'I shall not pursue the obscure and various dynasties that rose and fell on the continent or in the isles.' The author of these volumes has naturally made full use of the invaluable researches of Carl Hopf, but he has made investigations of his own with great enthusiasm and patience. He gives in an appendix an account of the mediaeval *Chronicle of Morea*, a record truly prosaic as a poem yet indispensable, though at times treacherous, as an authority. Prof. J. Schmidt's edition (London: Methuen, 1904) is referred to, though it seems to have been published too late for the author's ready use. (There is a still more recent critical study of the *Chronicle* by A. J. Adamantin, published at Athens, 1906, and noticed in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1907, p. 335.)

Sir Rennell deals with a period that extends from the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 to the fall of the Eastern Empire in the middle of the fifteenth century. We have the whole history of the princedom of Achaia—practically the Peloponnese—and glimpses

of the rulers of Epirus and Thessaly, of the Dukes of Athens, and of the rather distracting governors of Euboea. The scene is often laid in such classic lands as Elis and Arcadia, with a Greek and Slav population in the background. French knights like the Villehardouins and the sinister Charles of Anjou, or his bailies, impose on alien peoples the law of the West—not harshly, indeed, yet without enduring results. Points of feudal etiquette are referred to the French King; the Pope intervenes; the Doge of Venice is ever on the alert; and the Eastern Emperor plays the part—sometimes a small one—for which he has been set down. The most interesting portions of the work, for the general reader, are those describing the conquest by the Villehardouins. Sir Rennell writes very well, though his narrative at times—perhaps inevitably—rather tends to dry chronicle and the narration of family history. There is always however a useful statement of facts clearly set forth. The book contains some genealogical tables and an interesting map of mediaeval Greece, where the reader can find Clarenza and Clairmont and Andravida, and other places famous in Frankish story. Perhaps the author may some day be able to give us a supplementary volume, or at any rate a portfolio of illustrations, with letter press, containing pictures of some of the old strongholds that form such a romantic feature in the feudal scenery of Morea; and a selection from the coins, and possibly some other illustrative matter, would be welcome.

Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλῆ. *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, ὑπὸ* Ν. Γ. *Πολίτου.*

Παροιμίαι. Α', pp. π'+600, 1899. Β', pp. 127+699, 1900. Γ', pp. 686, 1901. Δ', pp. 686, 1902. *Ἐν Ἀθήναις, τύποις* Π. Δ. *Σακελλαρίου.* Price, each volume, 8 f.

These four volumes are a first instalment of a complete collection of modern Greek and Byzantine proverbs, brought together by Professor Politis from all sources, published, unpublished, and oral, and fully annotated. The most important word has been taken in each proverb, and the collection arranged alphabetically under these headings. The scale of the work is very large, and the last proverb in the fourth volume is entered under a heading no further down the alphabet than *ἑλεῶ*. General conclusions on the whole subject are promised at the completion of the work. In the first volume, before beginning his own collection, the author has printed seven unpublished collections of Byzantine proverbs from MSS. at Munich, Corfu, Athens and Jerusalem, and a bibliography, which includes foreign as well as Greek proverbs. The work is far from being a mere compilation of material already published. Besides the proverbs he has collected personally, he has used lists of proverbs sent to him for this purpose from all parts of the Greek-speaking world. Of these the most important are 3386 from Lesbos, and 2371 from Cephalonia. Each proverb is explained and illustrated by comparisons drawn from a wide field. Owing to the lack of a dialect Dictionary of modern Greek, and the number of unusual or local words used, these explanations are not the least valuable part of the work.

The proverbs are recorded, as far as the sources allow, in the local dialects, and, whilst they unavoidably, if only from the inadequacy of the Greek alphabet, fall short of complete accuracy in this respect, none of the native colour has been removed by any translation into the purified language. The sources used are so wide and the arrangement so methodical that, as far as modern proverbs are concerned, it does not seem possible that it can be superseded, and no fresh discoveries of Byzantine MS. collections are likely to add much of importance. The removal of the National Library caused the work to be broken off in 1904. The interval has been employed on a collection of *Παραδόσεις* or modern Greek traditions, and, when this is finished, the publication of the Proverbs is to be resumed. The volumes are well printed in the same format as the rest of the *Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλῆ.*

Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλῆ. *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, ὑπὸ* Ν. Γ. Πολίτου.

Παραδόσεις, *Μέρος* Α′, pp. 1–628 ; *Μέρος* Β′, pp. 629–1348. *Ἐν Ἀθήναις, τύποις* Π. Δ. Σακελλαρίου, 1904. Price including *Μέρος* Δ′, 20 f.

These two volumes, of which the first contains 1013 legendary stories, and the second notes on Nos. 1–644, will be followed by a third containing the rest of the notes and the Prolegomena. The whole is to form a part of the *Μελέται*, which Professor Politis is publishing in the Maraslís library. The appearance of these books, with their good printing and moderate price, is due to the enlightened generosity of Mr. Gregorios Maraslís.

The traditional stories in this collection are both from published and from oral sources. The latter are transcribed as they were told, in the genuine popular language untouched by the written tradition, and more or less coloured by the peculiarities of the local dialect. Those taken from printed sources, many of them foreign, have been recast in the popular form, in which they might have been recounted by peasants using their local dialects. These latter are marked with an asterisk. This distinction will no doubt be mentioned in the forthcoming Prolegomena : at present it can only be made out by noting the nature of the source as given in the notes. It is obviously of capital value for anyone who would use the book as material for the study of the dialects.

The traditions are arranged under twenty-nine heads :—legends historical and local, legends of gods, saints, and heroes, of the stars and elements, of plants, animals, and wild beasts, of dragons and serpents, of treasures guarded by negroes, of ghosts and haunted places, of uncanny creatures, Kalikántzaroi, Neráides and Lámias, of witches, of the devil and apparitions, of sicknesses, of the fates, of corpses, vampires, death, and the underworld, with a final section containing aetiological stories.

Such a collection cannot from the nature of the subject be complete, and anyone who has enjoyed a part of the confidence of Greek peasants could add a few more items, but it gives samples probably of every kind of legend. The author has done good service, not only in printing the large number of legends he has himself collected, but in gathering together the published stories, which were scattered over a great mass of literature, much of it very inaccessible. The skill, with which he has retold these in popular form restores to them much of their life, sadly lost in foreign books, or in the purified language of modern Greek writers.

The legends themselves, as products of the popular Greek fancy, are of as much interest as the Romaic folk-ballads, and sometimes deal with the same subjects. The taking of Saint Sophia, the hero Digenes, the woman buried beneath the bridge, appear in tradition and folksong alike. The mass of material, both in text and notes, bearing on popular mythology makes the book indispensable for the student of Greek folklore, and the charm of the stories will appeal to the general reader with some knowledge of modern Greek. The notes are very full, and embody comparisons and illustrations drawn from a wide field.

* * * * *

The following books have also been received :—

Atkinson (T. D.). A Glossary of Terms used in English Architecture. Pp. xxiv+320; 265 cuts. London : Methuen, 1906.

Duff (J. W.). Homer and Beowulf. Pp. 25. 1906.

Ferrero (Gugl.). The Greatness and Decline of Rome. Transl. by A. E. Zimmern. 2 vols., pp. viii+328, vi+389. London : Heinemann, 1907. 17*s.* net.

Gilliard (Charles). Quelques Réformes de Solon. Pp. 324. Lausanne : Bridel, 1907.

Hoste (M. R.). Nausicaa. Pp. xi+56. London : Nutt, 1906.

Juvenal. Satires, ed. A. F. Cole. Pp. xii+382. London : Dent, 1906.

Plato. Menexenus, ed. J. A. Shawyer. Pp. xxxi+36. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1906. 2*s.*

Schmidt (M. C. P.). Kritik der Kritiken. Pp. 37. Leipzig : Durr, 1906.

Sophocles. Antigone. Transl. by R. Whitelaw. Pp. l+56. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1906.

EARLY SELEUCID PORTRAITS.

II.

[PLATES XIII., XIV.]

IN a recent number of the *Journal*[1] I had occasion to indicate some of the difficulties surrounding the identification of the royal portraits that occur on silver coins accompanied by the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. The object of the article in question was to advocate a change of tactics in dealing with the problem,—to urge the desirability of concentrating attention on well-defined groups which should be subjected to a close and comprehensive scrutiny. As an illustration of the line of treatment proposed, there was selected for detailed examination the set of coins composed of tetradrachms on which the diadem worn by the king is furnished with wings. While certain of the inferences tentatively suggested on the strength of this examination have not been universally accepted,[2] the more positive and important of the conclusions reached remain uncontroverted. I would single out the following points as being now fairly well established:—(1) A large class of coins previously assigned to Antiochus Hierax, or alternatively to Antiochus III., really belongs to Antiochus II. (2) The pieces of which it consists give us a portrait of Antiochus II. which we may confidently adopt as a 'standard' likeness, a criterion that in his case was not previously available for purposes of classification.[3] (3) Most of the gold money of Antiochus II. was struck in Central Asia at a mint or mints which had also been active under his father. (4) Whether we shall ever be able to recognize the portrait of Hierax or no, the majority of the tetradrachms with the winged head form part of his coinage, having been minted at Alexandria Troas. (5) These tetradrachms, taken in conjunction with a number of others of similar 'spread' character, issued from the mints of Cyzicus, Lampsacus, and Abydus, gives us a fair idea of the 'sphere of influence' which Hierax dominated before 229 B.C.

Where a first experiment has proved so fruitful in interest, it is perhaps justifiable to embark upon a second. And there lies ready to hand another group of coins sufficiently marked in character and sufficiently limited in extent to make investigation comparatively easy. I mean the rare tetradrachms which have on the reverse a figure of Heracles resting. The hero is seated with his lion's skin beneath him, while his right hand grasps the upper end of his club, which stands upright in front of him. This type constitutes a striking innovation in the coinage of the Seleucidae. It is intrusive, in the sense that the familiar figure of Apollo on the

[1] *J.H.S.* xxiii. pp. 92 ff.

[2] Discussion has chiefly centred round the portrait' of Hierax; see A. J. B. Wace in *J.H.S.* xxv. pp. 101 ff., and H. von Fritze in *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 1906, No. 27 (p. 731).

[3] See Bunbury, *Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 78.

omphalos is speedily restored to its place of honour. That the variation was a local as well as a passing phase of numismatic fashion was long ago pointed out by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, whose single remark upon the subject is the truest and most valuable observation that has so far been made about these tetradrachms: they were all struck in Ionia or in Aeolis.[4]

Other numismatists besides Imhoof have had their attention turned to our group.[5] In no case, however, have the materials for comparison and study been anything like complete. As a consequence the results obtained have been inconclusive or unreliable. Bunbury and Babelon, for instance, were at pains to argue (as against Gardner) that the type of the seated Heracles was peculiar to Antiochus II. So far as the coins then known are concerned, it is certain they were right. But the discovery of the piece which stands first upon our list has given an entirely different aspect to the question, and has at the same time finally disproved the view of Six, who believed that the whole of the Heracles tetradrachms belonged to the reign of Antiochus Hierax, and that they represented the coinage of 'Alexander, brother of Laodice,' having been issued by him while he was holding Sardis in the interests of his 'nephew.'[6] The identity of the head upon the following is so clear that we need not hesitate to attribute it to the first of the Antiochi.

Antiochus I.

1.[7] Head of Antiochus I., r., diademed; border of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Heracles, naked, seated l. on rock, his hair bound with taenia; underneath him is his lion's skin, one end of which is brought up so as partially to cover his r. thigh; his r. hand grasps the handle of his club, which stands upright in front of him, while his l. is placed behind him on the rock; beneath[8] ⚲; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase r., below which, one above another, ⊡ and ⊠.

Pl. XIII., 5 = B.M. = *Greek Coins of a Well-known Amateur*, Lot 230 (Pl. vii) = Regling, *Sammlung Warren*, p. 202, No. 1297 (Taf. xxx.).

[4] *Monnaies grecques*, p. 426. Cf. Bunbury, *Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 78, footnote.

[5] Gardner, *Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pp. xv. f; Bunbury, *l.c.* pp. 77 ff.; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. lx. ff.; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1898, pp. 233 f., etc.

[6] See *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 116.

[7] For convenience of reference the coins in the particular group under examination are numbered consecutively, irrespective of the king whose portrait they may bear. All of them are Euboic-Attic tetradrachms. Where different specimens are catalogued under the same number, it is to be understood that they are from the same dies on both sides. Where the mathematical sign of equality is employed, it means not merely that the specimens thus connected are from the same dies, but that they are identical.

[8] The use of the word 'beneath' in a description implies that there is no exergual line.

This remarkable tetradrachm, formerly in the Warren Collection, is now in the British Museum. Mr. Talbot Ready, through whose agency it was put upon the London market, informs me that it was found some seven years ago in the Lebanon. Though it has been published twice previously, it has not yet attracted the notice it deserves. As a glance at the Plate will show, the rugged features of Antiochus Soter are unmistakable. The coin was therefore struck not later than 261 B.C. And it came from the mint of Cyme in Aeolis. The one-handled vase on the reverse would of itself have been sufficient to prove that this was so. It was the 'town-arms' or *παράσημον* of Cyme. As such, it figures as a symbol on silver coins of various periods, notably on tetradrachms with the types of Alexander the Great,[9] and on the familiar 'spread' tetradrachms of the second century B.C.; on PLATE XIII., 2, for instance, it will be seen between the legs of the horse on the reverse. On bronze coins it occurs not merely as a symbol but also as a type; in such cases it shares the usual fate of the *παράσημον* and is relegated to the reverse,[10] as on PLATE XIII., 1. Standing alone, then, the one-handled vase upon No. 1 would have furnished ample evidence of origin. But there is a link that is even closer and more interesting. The two monograms that are placed below it obviously denote the names of magistrates, and one of them is very uncommon. Now exactly the same combination appears on the reverse of an autonomous silver coin of Cyme, which is also, as it happens, in the British Museum. The following is a description.

Head of the Amazon Cyme r.; hair rolled and tied with riband; border of dots.	KY (above) Bridled horse standing r., with l. forefoot raised; between its legs, ⋔; in front, ⋒.

Pl. XIII., 6 = *B.M.C. Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, p. 109, No. 58 (Pl. xx. 16).

This piece, which has a weight of 10·47 grammes, is one of a very rare class. It was originally published in 1892 by Mr. Warwick Wroth, and was regarded by him as a didrachm of the Persic standard, probably belonging to the period from 250 to 190 B.C.[11] Curiously enough a second example, struck from different dies and weighing only 9·36 grammes, was made known in the same year by M. Babelon, who considered it to be a light Rhodian tridrachm, minted between 258 and 202 B.C.[12] A third specimen, bearing different monograms and weighing 10·55 grammes, had been described nine years earlier by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer,[13] who, however, expressed no opinion as to its age; it was then in the cabinet of Sir Edward Bunbury, and is illustrated in the Sale Catalogue of his collection.[14] It will be noted that there has been a tendency to assign this autonomous group to the days when the hegemony

[9] Müller, Nos. 943 ff.
[10] *Coin Types*, pp. 123 ff.
[11] *Num. Chron.* 1892, p. 17.
[12] *Rev. Num.* 1892, p. 116, No. 12, Pl. iv. 12.
[13] *Monnaies grecques*, p. 272.
[14] *Second Portion*, Lot 131 (PLATE II.).

of Western Asia Minor had passed from the hands of the Seleucidae. The connection now established with No. 1 of the Heracles series pushes it back to the reign of Antiochus I. It is true that the identity of monograms may be a coincidence; in certain Hellenic cities the monetary magistracies would seem to have been hereditary.[15] But I think a comparison of the two pieces concerned—they are placed side by side upon PLATE XIII.—will convince any experienced eye that they are practically contemporaneous. Special significance attaches to the presence, on the obverse of both, of the border of dots, an adjunct that fell into disfavour in this part of the Hellenic world about the middle of the third century B.C.[16] It may appear strange that regal and autonomous coins,—of different standards too,—should have been issued from the same mint in one and the same year. But, although we know too little of the circumstances of the time to hazard an explanation, attention will be drawn presently to what is possibly a parallel. Meanwhile we must content ourselves with noting that the gap in the mintage of Cyme is less absolute than was formerly supposed.[17]

Apart from this fitful and uncertain gleam of light, the discovery of No. 1 has an important bearing on the discussion of the remaining tetradrachms of the Heracles group. Although these have hitherto been assigned by general consent to Antiochus II., they fell to him only as *ultimus haeres*. 'It must be admitted,' says Bunbury, 'that the reasons for attributing this particular group of coins to the second Antiochus, instead of his predecessor or successor, are extremely slight.'[18] Now we are for the first time in a position to provide a solid basis for the attribution, and so to secure a fresh set of well-authenticated portraits of the king. That the whole series is homogeneous does not admit of doubt, and will become even more evident as we proceed. This being so, the identification of the head of Antiochus I. gives us a fixed point. The younger head can only be that of his son, and the probable period of issue is *circa* 261 B.C. The new king was at that time twenty-four, an age that agrees perfectly with his appearance, not indeed in all of the portraits, but certainly in those of them that we can, upon other grounds, accept as being 'standard' likenesses. The nature and cause of the variations hinted at will become apparent immediately.

Inclusive of No. 1, I have succeeded in bringing together twenty-five different varieties of Heracles tetradrachms, several varieties being represented by more than one specimen. It is an agreeable duty to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of owners and custodians who have furnished me with casts. And it is a further pleasure to add that the cost of supplying adequate illustrations has been met by a grant from the Research Fund of the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland. Some general remarks

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[15] See *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 101.

[16] *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 115—where, by the way, there is an obvious misprint of 'second' for 'third.'

[17] In 1887 Head remarked that between 500 and 190 B.C. the city 'does not seem to have struck any money whatever.' (*Hist. Num.* p. 479.)

[18] *Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 77.

will facilitate the proper understanding of the detailed descriptions that are to follow. To begin with, it will be found that the Heracles coins of Antiochus II. group themselves naturally into three classes, each class characterized by a distinctive mark or marks enabling us to assign it to a particular mint. A peculiarity common to all three classes calls for very special notice. At the head of each are ranged one or two pieces unexceptionable in style and execution. Those that succeed them are simply more or less degenerate copies. The result is an apparently wide variety of portraiture, the real meaning of which only becomes intelligible when we have something like a complete sequence before us. In every case the earliest coins were produced by skilled engravers; as the original dies wore out or broke, they were replaced by imitations which betray the hand of inexperienced workmen, but which were destined in their turn to serve as models for even lower depths of deterioration. We cannot, of course, be certain in any instance that we possess all the links in the chain. But the surviving evidence is quite sufficient to demonstrate the broad truth of the statement just made. The same phenomenon has been observed elsewhere, in connection with the money of cities that have no continuous minting tradition stretching back to fairly early times. Crete supplies quite a number of examples.[19] And it is significant that the process described manifests itself very clearly in the small group of autonomous coins of Cyme to which we had occasion to allude a page or two back;[20] the British Museum piece is admirably executed, that in the Bibliothèque Nationale is not nearly so satisfactory, the Bunbury specimen is a long way behind both. It would seem as if cities that took to minting at a comparatively late epoch were in the habit of importing from well-established centres, not trained workmen and designers, but pattern dies; these dies were used as long as might be; when they ceased to be serviceable, recourse was had to the talent of local 'artists.' However that may be, the phenomenon we have been discussing introduces a fresh complication into the problem of Seleucid portraiture. It is obvious that, where it occurs, the only likenesses we can regard as typical are those that open a series. One other remark is worth making before we enter on a consideration of the individual varieties. The list will be found to illustrate two of the technical points to which attention was drawn in my former paper.[21] The border of dots on the obverse is, as we might expect from the date of issue, universal; and the obverse die had, as a rule, a much longer life than the reverse. Having thus cleared the ground, we may proceed to our enumeration.

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[19] See Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, Atlas, *passim*.

[20] See *supra*, p. 147.

[21] *J.H.S.* xxiii. pp. 99 f. and p. 103.

Antiochus II.

Class A.—Struck at Cyme.

Subdivision (*α*).

2. Head of Antiochus II., r., diademed; border of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Heracles seated l. on rock as in No. 1; no taenia; although there is no ex. line, the ground is indicated running from the edge of the rock below the hero's feet; beneath, one-handled vase l., and ⋔; between legs of Heracles, Ꞁ; to r. of lower part of rock, Φ.

Pl. XIII., 7 = *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, Vol. III. p. 19, No. 1.

3. Similar.

Similar; but Φ beneath r. end of rock.

Pl. XIII., 8 = Berlin.

Subdivision (*β*).

4. Head of Antiochus II. r., diademed; border of dots.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Heracles seated l. on rock as on No. 1; he wears taenia, and there is no attempt to indicate the ground; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase[22] l., with traces of monogram below (Ꞁ ?); to l. of lower end of club, Ꞁ; to r. of lower part of rock, Φ.

Pl. XIII., 9 = *B.M.C.* p. 14, No. 8.

5. Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟ[Υ] Similar type; to r. of lower part of rock Φ; no symbol and no other monograms visible.

Pl. XIII., 10 = *Auctions-Catalog Hirsch*, XIII. p. 277, No. 4439.

6. Similar; style slightly less refined; dots in border larger.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; style slightly less refined; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase l.; beneath, ΕΜ; to l. of lower end of club, Ꞁ; to r. of lower part of rock Φ.

Pl. XIII., 11 = Berlin (Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 236, No. 28); Berlin (Löbbecke).

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[22] Here (and in several other cases) my description differs in some details from that already published. All such corrections and additions have been most carefully verified.

7. Similar.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase (?); beneath, ⊕; no other monograms visible.

Pl. XIII., 12 = Paris (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 28, No. 207).

8. Similar; style again less refined; features larger and coarser.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase r.; beneath, ⊕ and ⊕; [23] to l. of lower end of club, Ꝑ.

Pl. XIII., 13 = Berlin (Prokesch); Berlin (Löbbecke) = *Num. Chron.* 1883, Pl. iv. 4 (Bunbury).

9. Similar; but features considerably altered.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; style rather better; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase l.; beneath Φ and ⊕; to l. of lower end of club, M.

Pl. XIII., 14 = Copenhagen.

10. *Same die as No.* 9.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; to l., beyond inscr., one-handled vase r. and, below it, M (?); beneath, Φ.

Berlin (Prokesch).

This completes our list of the varieties included in Class A, and it may be convenient to glance back for a moment and take stock of its more prominent features. In view of the testimony adduced in dealing with No. 1, the attribution of the whole of these tetradrachms to Cyme surely needs no justification. The one-handled vase is clearly discernible on the reverses of all save No. 5 and No. 7. And in each of those cases the character of the obverse forbids us to separate the piece from that which immediately precedes it.[24] Besides, even as exceptions they can be readily accounted for: on No. 5 the part of the field usually occupied by the mint-mark is off the *flan*, and on No. 7 it is double-striking that has rendered the symbol unrecognizable. Our scrutiny of the dies has revealed eight different obverses and nine different reverses. Taking the latter first, we may note that the average level of execution is decidedly high. There is none that is not at least passably good. Further, they fall into two groups corresponding to the subdivisions indicated in the list. Nos. 2 and 3, which belong to Subdivision (*a*), are intimately connected by the identity of the monograms that they bear, while other details,

[23] The precise details of this monogram are a little doubtful. They are quite clear on No. 9.

[24] The obverses of Nos. 4 and 5 (PLATE XIII., 9 and 10) are almost certainly from the same hand; and so with Nos. 6 and 7 (PLATE XIII., 11 and 12).

such as the placing of the symbol in the exergue and the attempt to indicate the ground, suggest that both are from the hand of the same skilled engraver. The remainder of the reverses present analogous points of resemblance not merely to one another but also to the coin of Antiochus I. Heracles, for instance, wears a taenia, and the mint-mark, instead of being placed in the exergue, is put in the field l. The style varies too much to admit of our assigning the whole set to a single engraver, but it is safe to say that one of them has been a model for the rest. It has to be added that, while the bulk of the monograms undoubtedly denote magistrates' names, there are two of them to which a special character seems to attach; some form of Φ occurs on every reverse die from No. 1 to No. 10, and Ꞁ appears on Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8.[25]

If we turn now to the obverses, we are impressed with the large proportion of work that is almost first-rate. Nos. 2 and 3, which belong to Subdivision (*a*) (PLATE XII., 7 and 8), and Nos. 4 and 5, which stand at the head of Subdivision (*β*) (PLATE XIII., 9 and 10), might all have served as 'patterns.' The restraint and refinement they display are very noticeable. A coarser touch obtrudes itself in Nos. 6 and 7 (PLATE XIII., 11 and 12), and this becomes more pronounced in No. 8 (PLATE XIII., 13). It extends even to the dots that form the border. Finally, on the die that is used for the obverse of No. 9 (PLATE XIII., 14) and No. 10, the size of the neck and chin is suddenly so much reduced that the whole cast of the young king's features undergoes a change. One is almost tempted to think that the engraver of this die must have had before him—in addition to No. 7 or No. 8—one of the prototypes or 'pattern' pieces belonging to Class C (PLATE XIV., 10f.), and must have endeavoured to reconcile what seemed to him to be conflicting likenesses. At all events, a survey of Class A as arranged upon PLATE XIII. discloses a great contrast between its two extremes. Yet the declension is not nearly so rapid or so striking as in either of the two classes that are still to come.

ANTIOCHUS II.

Class B.—Struck at Myrina.

Subdivision (*a*).

11. Head of Antiochus II., r., diademed; border of dots.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Heracles seated l. on rock, as on No. 1; to l., beyond inscr., amphora; to r. of lower part of rock, Φ.
Pl. XIV., 4, =*B.M.C.* p. 15 No. 9.	
12. Similar type; style much coarser; dots in border larger.	Similar, with ex. line; style much coarser; no monogram to r. of rock, but in ex., Ꞁ.

Pl. XIV., 5 = *B.M.C.* p. 15, No. 10 (Whittall); St. Petersburg (Hermitage).

[25] Its absence from Nos. 5 and 7 may be only apparent. In both cases a considerable part of the field is off the *flan.*

Subdivision (β).

13. Head of Antiochus II., r., diademed; border of dots.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Heracles seated l. on rock, as on No. 1; to r., beyond inscr., amphora; beneath, Φ and head of spear (or arrow) r.

Petrowicz Coll. = *Num. Chron.*, 1883, Pl. iv. 5 (Bunbury); Vienna.

14. *Same die as No.* 13.	Similar.

Pl. XIV., 6 = Leake, *Num. Hell. Suppl.* p. 4.[26]

15. Similar; style much inferior.	Similar.

B.M. (Whittall); Berlin (Lobbecke).

16. *Same die as No.* 15.	Similar.

Pl. XIV., 7 = B.M.

17. Similar; head larger; features varied.	*Same die as No.* 16.

Pl. XIV., 8 = Cambridge (McClean); Berlin (Prokesch).

18. *Same die as No.* 17.	Similar.

Pl. XIV., 9 = Berlin; Paris (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 28, No. 208).

It will be observed that the link between the various members of Class B is the presence of an amphora in the field. The analogy with Class A makes it natural to interpret this as a mint-mark, and the clue thus given is easy to follow up. At Myrina a similar amphora was used as a symbol on tetradrachms with the types of Alexander the Great.[27] It occurs in a like capacity on the large 'spread' pieces issued during the second century B.C., as will be seen from the fine specimen figured on PLATE XIV., 2. It was, in fact, the 'town-arms' of Myrina,[28] and as such it supplies a reverse type for bronze coins of the third and second centuries B.C.: witness the example reproduced on PLATE XIV., 1. It is true that an amphora is a more common numismatic object than a one-handled vase. The attribution of Class B to Myrina may, therefore, for the moment seem less certain than was that of Class A to Cyme. But the fullest confirmation will be forthcoming presently.

The subdivision of Class B into two sections was suggested by an examination of the coins themselves; it is evident that there were two 'pattern' pieces of somewhat different styles, and that each of these was made the basis of imitations. Subdivision (α) contains only two varieties—the prototype and an inferior copy. That this was the relation between them will, I think, be

[26] When Leake secured his electrotype, this coin was in the Borrell Collection. I have been unable to ascertain its present whereabouts.

[27] Müller, No. 933, ff.

[28] See Wroth, B.M.C. *Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, p. lvi. Cf. *supra*, p. 147.

conceded by any one who looks carefully at the obverses as they are shown on PLATE XIV., 4 and 5. The testimony of the reverses is less clear. The presence of the exergual line and of the magistrate's monogram beneath it, as well as the absence of ⌀, proves that the reverse of No. 12—the execution of which, by the way, is particularly coarse—was not modelled upon No. 11 alone. The engraver had also before him one of the coins belonging to Class C; compare, for instance, PLATE XIV., 11. At the same time he did keep No. 11 in view, as is clear from the position of the amphora in the field and from the fact that it is a rock on which Heracles sits.[29] It is worth noting that No. 11 bears no local magistrate's signature at all, for ⌀ cannot be a local monogram, seeing that it is found on everyone of the corresponding coins from Cyme.

The monogram just mentioned is prominent on all the coins belonging to Subdivision (β) at Myrina. The latter comprises six distinct varieties, including five reverses. The intimate connection between these reverses does not admit of doubt. Monogram and mint-mark always occupy the same position, and beside the monogram there is always a spear-head pointing towards the r. The last-mentioned feature is at first sight rather puzzling. Six made it a reason for assigning the coins to Sardis.[30] All becomes plain, however, if we realize that it is not a mint-mark but a magistrate's symbol. In fact, if we so interpret it, we get the promised confirmation of our attribution of Class B to Myrina. The oldest known coins of this city are small silver pieces of a high degree of rarity. The following is a description of one now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; it weighs 1·88 grammes.

Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet.

M Y Head of Artemis, three-quarter face towards l., wearing earring and necklace; quiver at r. shoulder; in field r., head of spear (or arrow).

Pl. XIV., 3 = Leake, *Num. Hell.* p. 85.

The British Museum possesses one, the Berlin Museum two—a precisely similar piece (from the Imhoof Collection) weighing 1·50 grammes, and another (from the Löbbecke Collection) weighing 1·75 grammes and differing from the preceding only in the absence of the quiver.[31] These coins have been assigned, on grounds of style, to the early part of the third century B.C. If my interpretation of the spear-head be correct, it enables us to date them more definitely still (*circa* 261 B.C.), and

[29] See *infra*, pp. 156 f.

[30] *Num. Chron.* 1898, p. 233. His view was that the whole of the Heracles tetradrachms were struck in the Sardian mint, but that they also bore the symbols of some of the cities in which they were intended to circulate, such as Cyme and Phocaea.

[31] See B.M.C. *Lycia*, etc., p. 69, No. 2; Imhoof-Blumer, *Z. f. N.* xx. p. 282, where the Lobbecke coin is figured (Pl. x. 21). There is another—according to Imhoof, a slightly earlier—group with the same types, but without the spear-head; two specimens described in *Z. f. N.* iii. pp. 321 f., weigh 1·85 and 1·80 grammes respectively; cp. B.M.C. *ibid.* No. 1.

also provides us with the parallel which was spoken of above in discussing the curious but unmistakable link between autonomous and regal money at Cyme.[32] If the Cymaean coins are Persic didrachms, these may be Persic diobols.

There is little more to be said about the reverses belonging to Subdivision (*β*). They are all fairly well executed, perhaps the least satisfactory being that which is associated in No. 14 with the 'pattern' obverse. But they present one point of considerable technical interest. In Nos. 15 and 16 we have an example of the same reverse die combined with two different obverses. This is an inversion of the rule that is general here and elsewhere in the Seleucid series.[33] An explanation may possibly be found in the comparatively low relief of the obverses concerned: the dies would be more liable to breakage. Be that as it may, the circumstance is important as establishing an intimate connection between two portraits that we might otherwise have suspected of representing different individuals (PLATE XIV., 7 and 8). We may now safely attribute the lack of resemblance between them to the fact that both are somewhat clumsy copies of the 'pattern' (PLATE XIV., 6). As for the 'pattern' itself, it is—like the corresponding head in Sub-division (*α*)—quite a creditable piece of work. The artists who cut those dies had a conception of the features of Antiochus II. that does not differ markedly from the ideal expressed on the best executed pieces of Class A, and that is also easily reconcilable with the more realistic 'standard likeness' discussed in my former paper.[34] In this respect they form a contrast to the engraver whose work has next to be described.

ANTIOCHUS II.

Class C.—Struck at Phocaea.

19. Head of Antiochus II., r., diademed; border of dots.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Heracles l. as in No. 1; but his seat, instead of being a rough square rock, is shaped like a tub or cauldron; in ex., Ε and ΗΡ.[35]

Pl. XIV., 10 = *B.M.C.* p. 8, No. 2 ('Antiochus I.').

20. Similar.	Similar.

Pl. XIV., 11 = Paris (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 28, No. 209).

21. *Same die as No.* 20.	Similar.

Petrowicz Coll. = *Bunbury Sale Catalogue, Second Portion*, Lot 454 (Pl. iv).

22. Similar; of much inferior style; dots in border larger.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; of much inferior style; no taenia visible; in ex., Α and Ζ.

Pl. XIV., 12 = Vienna.

[32] See *supra*, p. 148.
[33] See *J.H.S.* xxiii. pp. 99 f.
[34] *J.H.S.* xxiii. PLATE I., 3 and 5.
[35] These monograms are only partially visible. But they can easily be completed from the two pieces that follow.

23. Similar; style still farther deteriorated.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Similar type; taenia doubtful; ex. blank; to l., beyond inscr., head and neck of griffin l. and, below it, Ꞁ.

Pl. XIV., 13 = Berlin (Fox).

24. *Same die as No.* 23.	Similar.

Berlin (Imhoof, *Monn. grecq.*, p. 426, No. 29).[36]

25. *Same die as Nos.* 23 *f.*	Similar.

Paris (Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 29, No. 210).

It will be observed that there is no common mint-mark to bind together the members of Class C. And yet its homogeneity is beyond all shadow of question. The seven varieties it includes involve four different obverses. The first two of these (PLATE XIV., 10 and 11) appear to be from the same hand. They are so nearly alike that it requires a close examination to distinguish them. They are remarkable for the excellent workmanship they display, and also for the peculiar characteristics of the portrait they present. The deeply sunk eye and the long straight nose give the face a look that we do not usually associate with Antiochus II. So much so is this the case that Gardner in his *Seleucid Kings* felt justified in assigning No. 19 to Antiochus Soter.[37] His proposal met with opposition from the outset,[38] and it has been finally disposed of through the discovery of No. 1. Its rejection leaves us with the alternative of seeking the necessary explanation in the idiosyncrasy of the artist; but if he has erred, he deserves to be forgiven, for he has produced a striking head. No. 22, though of much inferior style, is of quite exceptional interest. No obverse in the whole group under discussion bears the stamp of imitation in such an unmistakable degree. Its position on PLATE XIV. (12) is well adapted to bring this out; it is plainly a crude attempt to reproduce the head immediately above it. The mechanical treatment of the loose ends of the diadem is specially significant. Of the die that served for the obverses of Nos. 22 ff. (PLATE XIV., 13) there is little or nothing to be said; it illustrates a still lower stage of degradation.

It is, however, to the reverses that we must turn for the most convincing evidence of the homogeneous character of Class C. They number seven in all, three (Nos. 19–21) of good workmanship, and the rest (Nos. 22–25) very much inferior. Here, just as in the case of the obverses, it is evident that the engraver of the 'pattern' piece or pieces had ideas of his own. Heracles is not seated upon a conventional rock, as in Classes A and B, but upon an object that has some resemblance to a tub or cauldron; and the lower part of the field of the coin is cut off by an exergual line. These features are faith-

[36] Imhoof described the symbol, which is obscure, as 'un buste de *cerf*.'

[37] *Op. cit.* p. xv.

[38] *Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 22 and p. 78.

fully reproduced on the imitations. I do not think any mysterious significance attaches to the former. I doubt whether it is meant to be more than a conveniently rounded stone. Certainly, if it is a tub or a cauldron, it must be supposed to have a very stout lid; Heracles is sitting well back towards the centre. Ottfried Müller called it a '*Kessel*,'[39] and Babelon and Six have spoken of it as a '*cuve*.'[40] The two first-named saw in it an allusion to the cleansing of the Augean stables. Whatever its true character may be, its chief value for us is the function it discharges in holding together the varieties we have grouped under the heading of Class C. It is the strongest of the several indications that point so conclusively to a common origin.

And we can even determine the mint. Although the engraver or engravers of the 'pattern' pieces did not deem it necessary to denote the issuing city by a symbol, the influence of fashion was apparently too much for their successors. On the last three reverses (Nos. 23–25), in the field beyond the inscription—the very position so often occupied by the one-handled vase at Cyme and by the amphora at Myrina,—we find the head and neck of a griffin looking to the l. We need not hesitate to interpret this as the mint-mark of Phocaea in Ionia, the first important town on the coast to the south of Cyme. The griffin, either in whole or in part, was a popular coin-type there from the sixth century B.C. onwards; the reverse type of the fourth century bronze piece which is figured on PLATE XIII., 3 is exactly the same as the symbol on Nos. 23 ff. The analogy with Cyme and Myrina is so complete that no further proof appears to be required. I am tempted, however, to put forward what seems to me to be an additional confirmation; if my suggestion is accepted, one hitherto unintelligible feature of Classes A and B will be satisfactorily explained. It will be recollected that some form of the monogram ⌀ was of practically universal occurrence on the reverses of the Heracles tetradrachms struck at Cyme and at Myrina. Is it not probable that it represents the first two letters of *Φωκαέων*, and that it was placed upon the coins of the other towns in token of the alliance that found expression in the issue? This conjecture receives considerable support from the fact that the monogram actually was, though to a less extent than the griffin, an acknowledged badge of Phocaea. It is even employed by itself as a reverse type, one of the surest indications of a *παράσημον*;[41] see, for instance, the third century bronze piece illustrated on PLATE XIII., 4. And it appears on Alexandrine tetradrachms of the city as a mint-mark, both alone and in company with a seal.[42] Whether any of the remaining monograms used in our group have an analogous significance, may be doubted. But we may note in passing that ⍲, which is as unknown to Class B as is ⌀ to Class C, occurs on four out of seven reverses at Phocaea, and on at least five out of nine at Cyme.

Our survey of the separate classes being thus completed, it only remains

[39] *Denkmaeler der alten Kunst*, i. No. 236.

[40] *Les rois de Syrie*, p. lxi.; and *Num. Chron.* 1898, p. 233.

[41] Cf. *Coin Types*, pp. 123 ff.

[42] Müller, Nos. 983 and 989. Others, also of Phocaea, show the forepart or the head of a griffin.

to draw attention to certain general conclusions. It seems clear that about 261 B.C. something of the nature of a federal union subsisted between Cyme, Myrina, and Phocaea. Cyme had minted no money since about 500 B.C., Myrina had never had a mint at all, Phocaea had issued neither gold nor silver nor electrum since the expedition of Alexander the Great. Now, probably simultaneously,[43] the three cities begin to strike Seleucid tetradrachms with a reverse type of a new and very remarkable character. And just about the same period autonomous silver makes its appearance for a brief space at Cyme and at Myrina. The significance of these circumstances cannot be misinterpreted. They point to common action on the part of the three towns under the aegis of the Seleucid monarchy, action too that must have had a successful issue, for it was not when defeats had been experienced that Greek states took to striking money. It is not possible to conjecture with any degree of confidence against whom the efforts of the league may have been directed. Perhaps it was Pergamene or Egyptian aggression that had to be repelled. Or we may have here an echo of that struggle against the Galatai that won for Antiochus I. his honourable title of 'Saviour.'

And this may help us to see a fresh significance in the figure of the resting Heracles. The type was subsequently imitated by Euthydemus I. of Bactria (222–187 B.C.). It is found also on Spartan tetradrachms, some of them autonomous, others bearing the name of the tyrant Nabis (207–192 B.C.). Whether it has any special meaning on these, we cannot tell; it may be merely an imitation. But, so far as regards the Seleucid tetradrachms, some other explanation is required, and the most plausible hitherto available has been the ingenious suggestion of Babelon.[44] He connected the sudden appearance of Heracles with the dominance of Aristos and Themison, the Cyprian brothers who were boon companions of Antiochus II. and to whom that king surrendered much of his own power.[45] Pythermos describes Themison as masquerading in a lion's skin with a club and bow, and allowing himself to be hailed at festivals as *Θεμίσων Μακεδών, Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως Ἡρακλῆς*.[46] With the discovery of No. 1 this explanation falls to the ground; the type is older than the reign of Antiochus II. Is it going too far afield to recall the analogy of the anti-Spartan league of *circa* 394 B.C., when Byzantium, Ephesus, Samos, Iasos, Rhodes, and Cnidus banded themselves together in the cause of liberty?[47] This latter confederation chose as its characteristic coin-type a representation of the infant Heracles strangling the serpents that threatened his destruction—a fitting enough symbol of a resolution to throw off a yoke that had grown intolerable. Is it not conceivable that the Heracles at rest may have been meant to commemorate some great struggle that had been brought to a successful conclusion?

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[43] Although only Cyme is definitely known to have minted with the head of Antiochus I., it is quite likely that the other two cities did the same.

[44] *Rois de Syrie*, p. lxi.

[45] Phylarchos, *apud* Athen. x. 438 d. (*F.H.G.* i. p. 336). Cf. Aelian. *Var. Hist.* ii. 1.

[46] *Apud* Athen. vii. 289 f. (*F.H.G.* iv. 488).

[47] See Waddington, *Rev. Num.* 1863, 223 ff., and (for the most recent discussion of the subject) Regling in *Z.f.N.* xxv. pp. 207 ff.

The pages of written history have been scanned in vain for any allusion to the anti-Spartan league of 394 B.C.; the evidence for its existence remains solely numismatic. In the case of the alliance which our study of the Heracles tetradrachms has brought to light, a similar search has not proved so absolutely barren. In his description of the successful campaign waged by Attalus against Achaeus in 218 B.C., Polybius (v. 77)[48] thus opens his account of the manner in which the tide of public opinion in the Hellenic cities turned in favour of Pergamum: *Ἦσαν δὴ τότε μεταθέμεναι πρὸς αὐτόν, πρῶτον μὲν Κύμη καὶ Σμύρνα καὶ Φώκαια· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας κ.τ.λ.* That is the traditional text. Wilcken, however, has already pointed out that *Σμύρνα* is an obvious corruption for *Μύρινα*.[49] His grounds for proposing the change are twofold. In the first place, it would have been geographically absurd to have 'sandwiched' Smyrna between Cyme and Phocaea. In the second place, the participle *μεταθέμεναι* would have been quite inapplicable to the conduct of the Smyrnaeans, who had successfully resisted both the threats and the blandishments of Achaeus; a few lines further down Polybius goes on to tell how Attalus *ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς παρὰ τῶν Σμυρναίων πρεσβευταῖς φιλανθρώπως, διὰ τὸ μάλιστα τούτους τετηρηκέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν.* Wilcken's emendation has been generally accepted and hardly requires the additional support it now receives from the knowledge that, forty or fifty years before the events narrated by Polybius, the three towns had concluded a formal alliance. How long that alliance may have endured we cannot say. But it would at least appear that in the crisis of 218 B.C. the memory of 261 was still sufficiently strong to ensure joint political action.

I shall conclude by noting one other point where the numismatic evidence we have marshalled can be brought to bear upon history. This time its value is negative. Like so much else that happened in the third century B.C., the earlier stages in the growth of the Pergamene kingdom are wrapped in considerable obscurity. Strabo (XIII. p. 624) mentions that Eumenes I. inflicted a heavy defeat on Antiochus I. at Sardis. Modern historians have assumed that his victory was the signal for a wide extension of the boundaries of Pergamum. It may have been so. But not all the inferences based upon the passage can be justified. Niese[50] tentatively and Beloch[51] with much more confidence have assigned to that date the boundary stone inscribed *ὅροι Περγαμηνῶν*, which was found between Cyme and Myrina,[52] and which must therefore have been erected after the territory of the latter city had been incorporated in the dominions of Pergamum. Our coins forbid the entertaining of any such suggestion. They show that at all events during the earlier years of the reign of Antiochus II. Myrina still continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Seleucidae.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

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[48] I am indebted to Mr. E. L. Bevan for directing my attention to this passage.

[49] *S.v.* 'Attalos' in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* iii. 2162.

[50] *Gesch. der Griech. und Maked. Staaten*, ii. p. 85, footnote 5.

[51] *Griech. Gesch.* iii. (i) p. 614, footnote 2.

[52] *B.C.H.* v. p.283.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE ROMAN AGE.[1]

THE cultivation of instrumental music remained in a backward state among the Greeks in the fifth and fourth centuries, B.C. This was certainly not due to any want of taste for music as a whole, for no race ever valued it higher than did the Greeks. The reasons seem to have been, first, the bondage of the instrument to the voice, second, the unsettled state of the musical scale, and thirdly, the dislike of the Greeks for over-elaboration in music.

These three points are well illustrated in the Republic of Plato. In opening the discussion on the admissibility of certain modes, Socrates is made to say that a musical composition is made up of three things, the 'words,' the 'harmony,' and the 'rhythm,' and that the musical 'words' are in themselves in no way different from the words of common speech.[2] In another place much scorn is cast by Glaucon on the musicians that sought for the least perceptible interval to make that the unit of sound-measurement, some of the experimenters declaring that they could distinguish an intermediate note, where others insisted that the two sounds had passed into unison.[3] Socrates answers 'You mean those gentlemen who tease and torture the strings, screwing them up on the pegs.'

Socrates and Glaucon both speak as amateurs in music, and their feelings must have been shared by many Athenians at the time. Just as with us there are some who long for the return of Handel's 'noble harmonies,' as a relief from the chromatic aberrations of the Wagnerian school, so these two worthy Greeks looked back to the sturdy Dorian airs of Terpander as the true strains of the Hellenic muse, before she had learnt to voice the subtler moods of the heart of man. To such amateurs the refinements of the musical scale must have seemed base loans from the decadent

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[1] I wish to thank the following gentlemen for their kind and valued help to me in collecting the materials for this article: M. A. Merlin, Head of the Department of Antiquities for Tunisia, for having specially had photographed for me the unpublished statuette from the Musée Alaoui, Tunis (Fig. 5) as well as for much other assistance; M. Gouvet, Director of the Museum at Susa (Sousse) for the prints used in Figures 2 and 4; and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse for supplying me with a modern example of a pan-pipe from Smyrna.

With very few exceptions, the monuments referred to are known to me in the originals, from my visits to the museums where they are to be found.

[2] iii. 398 D. Cf. Nettleship. *Lectures on Plato's Rep.* 108.

[3] vii. 531 A.

art of the East; and if, as is now thought, the music of the fourth century used intervals of a quarter, three-eighths, a third, two-thirds, and three-quarters of a tone, this was no wonder.[4]

The contrast is drawn by Socrates between the school to which Aristoxenus belonged, the cultivators of the enharmonic style, and the Pythagoreans, who based the scale on the harmonic relations of the octave, fourth, and fifth. Into the details of this controversy there is no need to enter, but it is clear that such a simple and easily-tuned instrument as the lyre was best fitted to this screwing-up process by which the minimum intervals were reached. A many-stringed instrument would have taken too long to adjust to any highly complicated system. By the time of Aristoxenus himself the enharmonic scale was nearly dead, as Aristoxenus himself regrets;[5] and although the later musical writers repeat mechanically their account of it, there is not much reason for thinking that it was ever revived in practice. Aristoxenus complains that, if the enharmonic system was dropped, there would soon be nothing left but the diatonic and the 'highstrung' chromatic (*χρῶμα σύντονον* or *τονιαῖον*[6]), and these actually survived.

The objection felt by many Greeks to variety of musical effect is voiced by Socrates soon after his remark first quoted. He banishes such many-stringed and various instruments as the 'Triangle,' the 'Pectis,' and all kinds of flutes,[7] leaving only the lyre, cithara, and, for shepherds, the pan-pipe (*syrinx*). It is possible that in retaining the cithara, Socrates may have meant only the kind with few strings, for it would have been strange to admit a fourteen-stringed cithara, while condemning the flute for its too great variety of sound. Here Plato's views must have seemed very narrow even to his own age. In making music a means of moral upbuilding he not only struck at virtuosity and over-refinement, but would have checked the progress of the art along its most promising lines. His beliefs do not seem to have had much effect, for the very instruments that he excluded were cultivated with growing zeal. In Greece itself however the double-flute, lyre, and cithara remained the favourites. At Athens every boy was taught the lyre, and

[4] Cf. Westphal, *Harm. u. Mel. d. Gr.* 45–47. Westphal's view holds the field, but it needs some faith to believe that these ear-splitting dissonances were commonly played and sung. The so-called enharmonic mode of the modern Eastern Church (Ἦχος τρίτος; cf. I. Th. Sakellarides Ἱερὰ Ὑμνῳδία 95) is sung like the major scale of F; and it has been supposed by Dom Gaisser (*La Musique Eccl. Gr. d' après la Tradition*) that the ancient enharmonic was *in practice* the same as this, the two quarter-tones being always sung together, and the double tone being divided. It is impossible now to go into this interesting theory.

[5] Quoted in Plut. *de Mus.* 38. Cf. Aristox. *Harm.* i. 23.

[6] This is stated by Ptolemy. Cf. Monro, *Modes of Ancient Gr. Mus.* 111. The highstrung chromatic could be played on a piano; and although Ptolemy has three kinds of diatonic scale, it would still seem that the music of his day would not have sounded utterly barbarous to our ears. A form of chromatic mode is in use in the Eastern Church, and is often heard in Romaic folk-songs: it has an austere and striking effect. A 'soft' diatonic is sung in some Greek churches as the second Byzantine mode; but few western listeners find much sweetness in it. We ourselves allow both the 'just' and the 'tempered' intonation; the bagpipes, I believe, are tuned to neither of these, and their effect is not always disliked.

[7] iii. 399 c and D. Arist. *Pol.* viii. 6 will not allow these instruments in the training of the young.

the use of the flute was by no means confined to professionals: Alcibiades, for example, is said to have studied on it.[8] Again Epaminondas not only played the flute like other Thebans, but learnt the lyre also. The cithara, which had been perfected by Timotheus,[9] was chiefly played by professionals. These three instruments are common subjects on Attic vases, and late monuments and authorities show that their use went on through the Roman age: their nature however is so well known that there is no need to say more about them.

The kinds of harp called 'Triangle' and 'Pectis' by Plato seem to have been of Lydian origin. Athenaeus, who has a long discussion on the subject, says that the Magadis was a stringed instrument, later called Sambuca, while the Pectis was the same.[10] It is possible that the 'Triangle' was also similar, and that the names of Trigonon and Pectis were meant as Greek renderings for the foreign words Magadis and Sambuca. This harp, as it may safely be called, is often seen in Egyptian art, and must have been widespread over the East. It appears on a fine red-figured vase in conjunction with the lyre and cithara.[11] Athenaeus says that Sappho brought in its use from Lydia, and Anacreon, as his own words record, played a harp with twenty strings.[12] The instrument embraced the whole compass of the singing voice, and had high notes beyond the range of the cithara.[13] It could be used without a striker. One of its peculiarities was that the sound-box was on the upper side. Smaller sizes with nine or even five strings were sometimes made. Examples of such miniature harps are seen in some of the wall-paintings now in the Naples Museum: one of these, played by a Cupid, is here illustrated. (Fig. 1)[14]

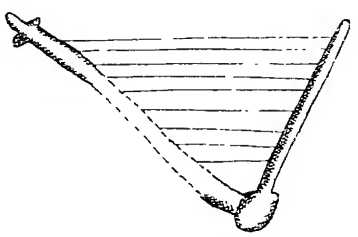

FIG. 1.—TRIGONUM OR SAMBUCA.

Another stringed instrument of the same class, more like a zither, became popular in the Roman Age. But, while the use of the harp called for great skill, and gave full scope for rich and splendid effects, the zither can only have yielded a thin and twanging tone, especially as the ancient instrument often had no sound-box. This instrument is nearly always played by women, who often wear a carelessly sumptuous dress, suited rather to paid performers than to freewomen. Examples are again seen in Roman wall-paintings. In

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[8] Duris *ap.* Athen. iv. 84, 184 D, where it is said that the famous flute-player Pronomus was Alcibiades' master.

[9] Cf. Paus. iii. 12. 8.

[10] Athenaeus xiv. 34–38. Aristotle *l.c.* classes together the Pectis, Barbiton, Heptagon (otherwise unknown), Triangle, and Sambuca: he calls them ἀρχαῖα ὄργανα

[11] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 1544.

[12] Anacr. 14(5). ψάλλω δ' εἰκοσίχορδον) <ἐν χερσὶν> μάγαδιν ἔχων. In fr. 13(16) he speaks of the Pectis.

[13] Telestes 4 (5) (Bergk) τοὶ δ' ὀξυφώνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖ<ς> κρέκον Λύδιον ὕμνον.

[14] For other examples cf. *Le Pitture Ant. d' Ercolano*. v. 167. Inghirami, *Pitt. di Vasi Fittili* iv. cccxliii., and von Jan *Arch. Zeit.* xvi. 187 (Pl. cxv. 14). For these instruments in general cf. an article by von Jan in Baumeister s.v. *Saiteninstrumente*; and a dissertation of the same writer, *De gr. Saiteninstrumentis*.

Roman Africa a complicated form of this instrument was common, and it is often represented in statuettes. The example (Fig. 2) is from Susa (Hadrumetum) and shows a lady performer, richly dressed, and possibly wearing a wig: on either side of her is a small figure, perhaps of a muse. The type is often seen in Africa.[15] The name of this zither was perhaps the Psaltery.

FIG. 2.—TERRACOTTA FIGURE AT SUSA. WOMAN WITH ZITHER (PSALTERIUM).

A more curious contrivance was the so-called Tripod, invented by Pythagoras of Zacynthus, and described by Athenaeus.[16] This stood on a revolving base with a sound-box called λέβης above; the strings were stretched between the three branches that gave the instrument its name. On one side the strings were tuned in the Dorian mode, on another in the Phrygian, and on the third in the Lydian. If the player wished to change the mode, he had only to turn the instrument with his foot, so as to bring another row of strings within his reach. The left hand was used to stop down the strings or to check their vibration,[17] and the right hand held the striker. This ingenious instrument did not survive the death of its inventor.

The principle of shortening a string to make higher notes was known to the Greeks at an early age. Nicomachus says that the Pythagoreans called a one-stringed lute a Canon,[18] which means that it was used by them as a standard for generating their scale. It is quite possible that the range of the cithara was sometimes extended by stopping down the strings, but this was no part of the regular technique of that instrument. In the Roman age instruments appear in which the strings were systematically stopped down on a finger-board as in a modern mandoline. Although it is possible to embrace a large compass of notes in this way, the tone produced must always have been feeble and lacking in resonance; and as now the guitar, mandoline, and banjo are hardly reckoned as instruments of music, so the use of such instruments in old time was a sign of declining taste. The ancient name seems to have been the Pandura. Pollux remarks that the Pandura had three strings, and was invented by the Assyrians.[19] Nicomachus, in the place already quoted, classes the Pandura with the one-

[15] Cf. two similar figures in the Musée Alaoui, Tunis (*Musée du Bardo* 74, 75; in the series *Musées et Collections arch. d'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, ed. La Blanchère.)

[16] Athen. xiv. 41.

[17] Διὰ τὴν ἐπιβολήν.

[18] *Harm.* p. 8.

[19] Pollux iv. 60. τρίχορδον δὲ ὅπερ Ἀσσύριοι πανδοῦραν ὠνόμαζον, ἐκείνων δ' ἦν τὸ εὕρημα. Where however Dindorf notes that no form of the name Pandura is found either in Assyrian or Chaldaean.

stringed lute. But this can hardly mean more than that the notes were produced on the same principle, namely by stopping down the strings. Other writers confuse the Pandura with the pan-pipe;[20] but as the name is still applied to a stringed instrument in Italy, it can hardly have been otherwise in antiquity. Martianus Capella[21] calls it an Egyptian invention, and it is probable at any rate that it came from the East. The Emperor Heliogabalus, who was brought up in Syria, used, among his other undignified pursuits, to play on the Pandura;[22] and one is represented on a silver cup of Graeco-Persian workmanship found in South Russia.[23]

About a dozen examples of this type of instrument are known, and none of them is earlier than the Roman age.[24] Two principal shapes may be distinguished. One is shaped very much like a mandoline, with an oval shell and a short neck. Of this the Graeco-Persian Pandura is a specimen: and there is another played by a siren on a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum,[25] and another, almost guitar-shaped, in the museum at Turin (Fig. 3).[25a] The other form resembles a banjo: it has a very long neck, but instead of a drum head stretched over a hoop, a round shell is used to re-inforce the sound. The back and front of such instruments, with the manner of playing, are shown in the illustrations (Figs. 4 and 5). These are taken from African statuettes; but the type is not at all common. The other extant examples are chiefly on sarcophagi. A fine specimen is seen in the representation of the wedding of Cupid and Psyche on a late sarcophagus in the British Museum.[26] At Naples[27] there is a sarcophagus which is remarkable because not only one of the figures in the scene represented, but also the lady who appears on the medallion, and was therefore buried in the coffin, are playing the Pandura. The instruments here are shaped like the African specimens, having a crescent-shaped top, and four strings instead of the three mentioned by Pollux. It cannot be seen whether the finger-board was divided by ridges, as in modern instruments of that class. On the African statuette it would almost seem that the strings are stretched over a bridge, but this also is uncertain.

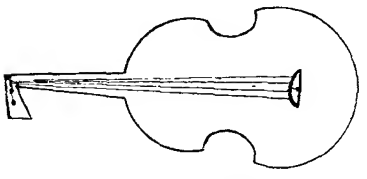

FIG. 3.—PANDURA.

Among the instruments condemned by Plato are all kinds of flutes.[28]

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[20] *E.g.* Isid. *Orig.* 3. 20.

[21] 9. 924. Athenaeus iv. 82 ascribes its discovery to the Troglodytes by the Red Sea.

[22] '*Pandurizavit*,' Lamprid. *Hel.* 32.

[23] Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1881, 55.

[24] There is a list given by Stephani *ib.* Some of his examples are doubtful. The supposed Pandura on the well-known Hippolytus relief on a fine early sarcophagus in the cathedral at Girgenti (*Arch. Zeit.* 1847, Pl. VI.) seems to me after close inspection) to be only an elongated lyre. The instrument on a relief in the Louvre (Clarac, *Mus. Sculp.* 119, No. 47; cf. Robert, *Ant. Sark.* ii. 41, pl. 26 A) is also hardly a Pandura.

[25] Benndorf, 126.

[25a] On a late relief of Orpheus and the Nymphs. Unpublished, but possibly forged.

[26] *Ancient Marbles in B.M.* Pl. IX. Fig. 3, and p. 35.

[27] Naples Museum, No. 6598.

[28] Arist. *l.c.* also rejects the flute in education.

He was no doubt thinking chiefly of the double-flute, which had reached a high pitch of complication in his own day,[29] and which is often represented on Attic vases. The instrument belonged rather to the flageolet class and had a mouthpiece. The true flute-type (πλαγίαυλος) was also known but little cultivated. It is sometimes seen as a short fife played by Fauns and Satyrs; or by Cupids, as on the urn of L. Minucius Felix in the Capitol Museum at Rome.[30] A more interesting type of wind-instrument, appearing in the Roman age, had a wing-joint, and resembled a bassoon. This is

FIG. 4.—TERRACOTTA FIGURE AT SUSA. WOMAN WITH PANDURA AND WREATH.

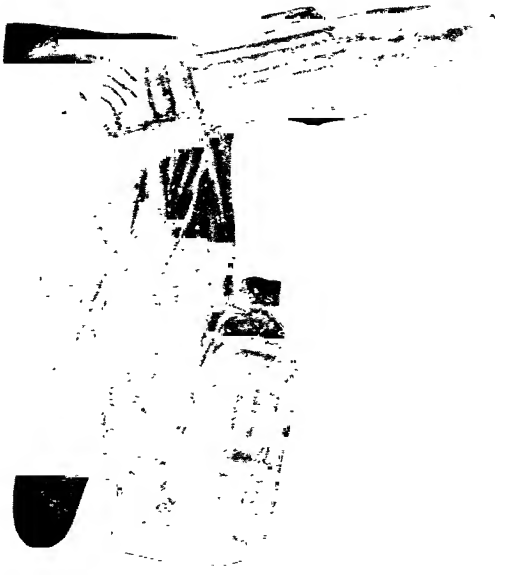

FIG. 5.—TERRACOTTA FIGURE IN THE MUSÉE ALAOUI. MAN PLAYING ON THE PANDURA.

seen on a sarcophagus in the Taormina Museum, here illustrated (Figs. 6, 7). It will be seen that the sculpture is late work. The heads of the figures are too big, the iris of the eye is hollowed out, and the hair and drapery are freely worked with the drill. The sarcophagus, which was meant for a child, may therefore date from the third century A.D. Besides the bass wind-instrument there are also a lyre, cymbals, a conch-shell, and a small pan-pipe in use. The name of the instrument is uncertain: it may have been the Bombalium.[31] There is, I believe, only one other example, which is seen on a small sarcophagus in the Vatican.[32]

[29] It had been perfected by Pronomus the master of Alcibiades. Paus. ix. 12. 5.

[30] Helbig, *Führer*, 440.

[31] This word occurs *Epith. Laurent.* 61.

[32] *Mus. Pio-Clem.* v. 13. It is doubtful whether the Pan in the British Museum (*Anc. Mar. in B.M.* iii. 135) is playing such an instrument. (Cf. the article in Baumeister *s.v. Flöten.*)

The pan-pipe (*Syrinx*, Fig. 8) was one of the oldest Greek instruments, and was always put in the hands of shepherds and country deities. In pastoral

Fig. 6.—Sarcophagus in the Taormina Museum.

Fig. 7.—Part of the Sarcophagus Shown in Fig 6.

poetry it is often mentioned, and it appears in art as an attribute of Pan and of Fauns and Satyrs. It consisted of a row of pipes made of cane-stalk, each pipe being stopped by the natural joint of the cane, below which the

pipe was cut off. The pipes were put in a row, and, as Pollux says,[33] fastened together with thread and wax. Below and above the row of pipes two flat strips of cane were laid, and to these the thread was tied, going round the reeds and holding them firmly together. It is easy to see from ancient sculpture that this was the plan then followed, and a modern pan-pipe from Smyrna, now in my hands, has been put together in the same way.

In the Greek pan-pipe, the reeds all appear of the same length : there were as a rule about eight of these.[34] Such an instrument is played by

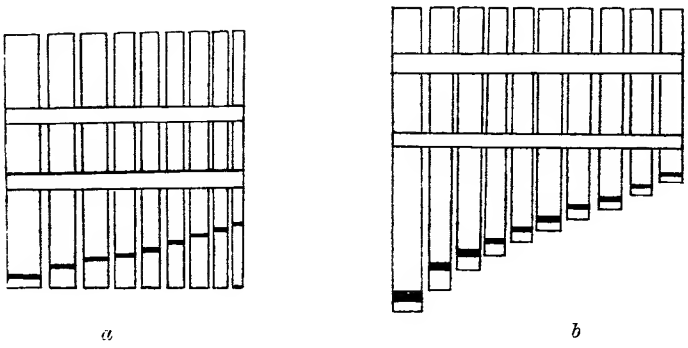

FIG. 8.—PAN-PIPES : (*a*) GREEK, (*b*) GRAECO-ROMAN.
(The natural joints of the cane are shown in black.)

Calliope on the François Vase, and it appears as an attribute of Pan on Arcadian, Messenian, and Sicilian coins.[35] In later art it is rare, though there is a good example on a relief of the Hellenistic age in the Barracco Museum at Rome, representing Pan and the Nymphs.

As the reeds were all of the same length, how were the different notes made ? Some have thought that there was a row of holes in the pipes at certain heights above the joints ; but I have found that a hole in the side of the pipe takes away the musical tone altogether. It is not likely in itself, nor does it appear from the monuments that difference of thickness was the sole basis of the scale. Probably therefore the reeds instead of being cut off just below the joint of the cane, as in the modern pipe, were cut some inches longer than they were meant to be, and when the upper part of each had been trimmed to the length required, the lower ends were simply cut off so as to leave the pipes even, although the part of each pipe above the joint (which alone made the note) would be different in every case. The advantage of this plan would be that reeds of the same length would be easier to fasten together, and the pan-pipe thus made would be more handy to hold.

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[33] Pollux iv. 69 (σύριγξ) . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν καλάμων ἐστὶ συνθήκη λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ συνδεθεῖσα. The pan-pipe is also an attribute of Attis. Cf. the terracottas in *B.C.H.* xxi. 518–520. The reeds are all of the same length.

[34] Cf. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877, 214.

[35] P. Gardner, *Types of Gr. Coins*, Pl. II. 42. W. M. Leake, *Numism. Hell.* 17. Head, *Hist. Num.* 373.

The Roman form of the pan-pipe was also the Etruscan[36] and the modern shape: in this the reeds were cut off just below the joints of the cane, and so bound together as to leave the ends of the instrument sloping.[37] This became the recognised form in Graeco-Roman art, and it is very widespread on the monuments. It seems to have taken the fancy of the mediaeval restorers, so that countless statues have been embellished with pan-pipes in plaster.

Pan-pipes were made in all sizes; some had only four or five small reeds: one of these is seen on the sarcophagus from Taormina, already illustrated; some had as many as twelve reeds bound with three bands.[38] A piece of ribbon was sometimes fastened to the instrument by which it could be carried when not in use. The scale of the pan-pipe no doubt varied with the maker's taste, but it was probably diatonic as a rule: firstly because it would be the easiest to make in tune, and secondly because the murmuring or buzzing effect produced by gliding from note to note would have been harsh and dissonant on any other system. By strengthening the blowing each reed could be made to yield a note an octave higher than its normal pitch; so that perhaps the instrument with seven or eight reeds was strictly diatonic, while the more complex and rarer kinds had chromatic notes in between. The shape with a double row of pipes seems to have been invented by the restorers of statues in the middle ages.[39]

Literary references to the pan-pipe are very common: it will be enough to quote a pretty description from Claudian, which shows how the instrument was played. (*Epith. Poll. et Cel.* 34)

> (Hymenaeus) . . . platano namque ille sub alta
> fusus inaequales cera texebat avenas,
> Maenaliosque modos et pastoralia labris
> murmura tentabat relegens, orisque recursu
> dissimuli tenuem variabat arundine ventum.

Besides the common pan-pipe which was blown from the top of the reeds, the Romans invented a more complicated kind known as the Etruscan Pipe. Pollux explains that this was made of bronze reeds and was played upside down, the smaller sort being blown by the breath.[40] Of this instrument the pan-pipes now extant in the Naples Museum are examples. The larger sort, says Pollux, was blown by water; so that it is clear that he is referring in both cases to primitive kinds of organ with

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[36] It appears on an Etruscan urn, Brunn, *Rilievi d. Urne Etrus.* 1, Pl. 92. 3: cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1886, 1, 161.

[37] Cf. Ovid. *Met.* i. 710, *disparibus calamis.*

[38] The pan-pipe on the glass krater in the Naples Museum *Cat.* p. 91) has twelve reeds.

[39] Thus the example in the Vatican (Amelung, *Sculp. d. Vat. Mus.*, *M. Chiaramonti* 588 is nearly all plaster.

[40] Pollux iv. 70 *τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ ἔμπαλιν ἔχων ὁ Τυρρηνὸς αὐλὸς ἀντεστραμμένῃ σύριγγι παρεοικώς, χαλκὸς μέν ἐστιν ὁ κάλαμος. κάτωθεν δὲ ὑποπνεόμενος. φύσαις μὲν ὁ ἐλάττων, ὕδατι δὲ ὁ μείζων ἀναθλιβομένῳ καὶ αὔραν πνεύματος ἀφιείτι.* For the instruments at Naples cf. C. Abdy Williams, *Class. Rev.* 1902, 409.

some sort of mechanical fingering; and it is curious to note that from the pan-pipe which was deemed only good enough for shepherds should have grown the most majestic of all instruments. It is well known that the organ was highly developed in the later Roman age,[41] as may be inferred from a fine passage of Claudian (*De Mall. Theod. Cons.* 316).

> Et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu
> innumeras voces segetis moderatus aenae,
> intonat erranti digito, penitusque trabali
> vecte laborantes in carmina concitet undas.

It is remarkable that this noble instrument described by Claudian served no better end than to amuse the crowd gathered in the amphitheatre, where its strains alternated with the feats of tumblers and the sallies of buffoons. But this after all may be characteristic of the music of the Roman age: it was no longer dedicated chiefly to the worship of the gods, or to the serious education of youth; the advance in skill and in the variety of instruments did not imply a real progress in the art, but rather led to virtuosity and false effect.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

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[41] On the Roman organ *v.* Baumeister *s.v.* *Flöten.* The subject is too wide to be entered upon here.

A HISTORY OF THE PELASGIAN THEORY.

FEW peoples of the ancient world have given rise to so much controversy as the Pelasgians; and of few, after some centuries of discussion, is so little clearly established. Like the Phoenicians, the Celts, and of recent years the Teutons, they have been a peg upon which to hang all sorts of speculation; and whenever an inconvenient circumstance has deranged the symmetry of a theory, it has been safe to 'call it Pelasgian and pass on.'

One main reason for this ill-repute, into which the Pelasgian name has fallen, has been the very uncritical fashion in which the ancient statements about the Pelasgians have commonly been mishandled. It has been the custom to treat passages from Homer, from Herodotus, from Ephorus, and from Pausanias, as if they were so many interchangeable bricks to build up the speculative edifice; as if it needed no proof that genealogies found summarized in Pausanias or Apollodorus 'were taken by them from poems of the same class with the *Theogony*, or from ancient treatises, or from prevalent opinions;' as if, further, 'if we find them mentioning the Pelasgian nation, they do at all events belong to an age when that name and people had nothing of the mystery which they bore to the eyes of the later Greeks, for instance of Strabo;' and as though (in the same passage) a statement of Stephanus of Byzantium about Pelasgians in Italy 'were evidence to the same effect, perfectly unexceptionable and as strictly historical as the case will admit of.'[1]

No one doubts, of course, either that popular tradition *may* transmit, or that late writers *may* transcribe, statements which come from very early, and even from contemporary sources. But this is quite a different matter from assuming, as a working hypothesis, that the unauthenticated statements of late writers *do* come from early sources. Even where such a statement tallies with a statement of Homer, or with the results of excavation, we are not justified in inferring, on that account only, that the late writer had Homer before him, any more than that he had himself conducted such an excavation. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, he may equally well be assumed to have got his information from a quite late handbook, or from an imaginative author who for once by chance was right.

Most recent writers meanwhile admit, tacitly, that authorities do vary

[1] Niebuhr, *History of Rome* (tr. Hare and Thirlwall 1837) i. p. 26.

in value, and that *ceteris paribus* the earlier sources are more trustworthy than the later. But the reservation '*ceteris paribus*' covers a great deal; for it is argued, not uncommonly, that Hecataeus, for example, stands much nearer in the scale to Pausanias than he does to Hesiod, and Hesiod nearer to Hecataeus than to Homer: in the sense, of course, that between Homer and Hesiod lies a great political convulsion, involving a fatal breach with the past; and that between Hesiod and Hecataeus lies at least a century of strenuous endeavour to bridge that gap, and 'restore' the missing data by strenuous use of the imagination.

At the time when the chronological lacuna between Mycenaean and Hellenic Greece was still unsurveyed, a considerable service was rendered by Mr. Cecil Torr, in an experimental reconstruction,[1a] in which every interval of time which he was able to demonstrate was 'written down' (so to speak) to the 'least possible' dimensions; somewhat as if a prudent capitalist to-day were to 'write down' to 80 the value of his consols. The result was a chronological scheme which, although it has not been widely adopted, had at least the merit of being 'within the mark.' It called attention, besides, to certain other matters of historical method, which I need not specify here.

Now what I have attempted to do, in this essay, is to make a similar experiment with the ancient statements about the Pelasgians: to arrange them, in fact, strictly in accordance with the relative antiquity of the sources from which they severally become first known *to us*; and to use, at each stage, as commentary upon any passage, only such other statements as we know from extant authors to have been current at the date when that passage was penned. To interpret Homeric passages, that is, I shall use only Homeric evidence and the physique of the Aegean, accessible to 'Homer' as to us; to interpret Hesiod and the later Epic, only Epic sources; to interpret Thucydides, only sources of at least fifth century date. Not until I reach the authorities of the age of Alexander, shall I make use of any statement which rests merely on the authority of Ephorus or his kind. In this way alone, I think, can we be certain to avoid anachronism. Much else about the Pelasgians may very likely be ancient tradition, but it cannot be proved from extant sources to be so; and it may, on the other hand, find a more probable context—if not an assured origin—lower down, when once we have constructed, on the hypothesis of 'lowest possible' dates for each phase, the outlines of the growth of the Pelasgian Theory.

It is difficult to be certain, in an enquiry of this kind, that one has really left preconceptions behind; but I may at all events confess this, that I had not the faintest idea, when I began to apply this method to my materials, what the results of the experiment were going to be. Least of all was I prepared for the form which the Homeric evidence assumed, when once it was released from its Hellenic commentary; or for the part which I have found myself compelled to assign to Ephorus in the concoction of the Great Pelasgian Myth.

[1a] C. Torr *Memphis and Mycenae*, Cambridge, 1896.

§ 1.—*Homeric Evidence: its Two-fold Character.*

To take, first and separately, the Homeric passages.[1b] They divide at once into two classes: those which contain the substantival forms Πελασγός, Πελασγοί and those which contain merely the adjective Πελασγικός. In the substantival passages it is a fair preliminary hypothesis that the poet had in his mind some more or less definite conception of an actual people, either still existent in his own time and that of his original audiences; or, if extinct, familiar both to him and to his audiences, through a lively and accepted tradition, as recent occupants of the areas in which he places them. In the adjectival passages, on the other hand, such a hypothesis is not legitimate. These do not indicate more than that the place or personality to which the poet applies the adjective 'Pelasgian' seemed to him, and presumably to his audience, to partake, in some way, of the Pelasgian character as he or they understand it. These passages therefore cannot be used by themselves as evidence that either the audience or the poet had any experience or immediate reminiscence of actual Pelasgian inhabitants in the area or about the personage to which the adjective is applied. And when we come to consider this class of passages in detail (B. below) we shall see, I think, that this consideration is valid, and of some importance.

§ 2.—*Substantival* Πελασγοί *in Homer.*

It will simplify discussion to take the substantival passages first. They are as follows:—

(1)

Il. 2. 840–3: Ἱππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμώρων,
τῶν οἳ Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάασκον·
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἱππόθοός τε Πύλαιός τ' ὄζος Ἄρηος,
υἷε δύω Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο.

The passage stands at a critical point in the structure of the 'Trojan Catalogue.' Starting from Troy-Town, in l. 816, the poet has reviewed (1) the Trojans themselves (ll. 816 ff.); (2) their Dardanian neighbours to the N.E. (819 ff.); (3) other Trojans from Zeleia (823 ff.) on the lower Aisepos, where the lowest spurs of Ida sink into the Propontic seaboard; (4) Adrasteia

[1b] It might fairly be argued that account should be taken here of the possibility that the Odyssey for example may represent a later phase of Homeric belief or of Aegean history than the Iliad; or that a distinction should be observed between data supplied by the 'earlier' or the 'later' parts of the Iliad. But, quite apart from the uncertainty which surrounds the whole question of such dissection of the Homeric *corpus*, I have thought it better to act on the view that relatively—though of course not absolutely—these minor distinctions are unimportant; and that even if some parts of 'Homer' may possibly be approximately as late as some parts of 'Hesiod,' clearness will be gained, without sacrifice of truth, by treating the Homeric Epic as a single group of data, and Hesiod and the other fragments of Epic as a distinct, and on the whole well contrasted group.

(simply 'Adrastos' town,' like Midaeion, Kotyaion, and the like) with Paisos (Apaisos), and Mt. Tereia, between Parion and Lampsakos (835 ff): *i.e.* the poet has reached the E. margin of the Troad, and is returning by the sea-coast to (5) Perkote, Praktios (river), Arisbe (on the Selleis river), Abydos, and Sestos. With the mention of Sestos we have passed from Asia into Europe. Then come the Pelasgians (l. 840): then (6) the Thracians, 'all those whose frontier is the Hellespont' 845: then (7) the Kikones (ll. 846 ff.), who are fixed by *Od.* 9. 39–40 in their historic habitat 'under Ismaros,' west of the lower Hebros: then (8) the Paeonians (ll. 848 ff.), who come from as far off as the Axios river. Here the confederacy of Priam has its limit westward; and the poet starts again from the Troad, and strikes out, first north-eastward through Paphlagonia and beyond; and then finally southward, through Mysia, Phrygia, Maeonia, and Caria, to Lycia, where the confederacy ends south-eastward. Priam's confederacy, in fact, once plotted out upon the map, reveals itself as a coalition of the whole northern and eastern shores of the Aegean against a 'blow at the heart' delivered by Agamemnon, as overlord of the south and east from Kos and Rhodes to Olympus, Ithaca, and Dodona.

Now the whole of the rest of this tripartite list is in correct geographical order so far as it goes; and the single omission of importance (that of Bithynia, between the Troad frontier at Zeleia on the Aisepos, and the Paphlagonians) is sufficiently accounted for (*a*) by the later consensus that the historic Bithynians (like the Mygdones of the Odryses river, inland of Daskyleion and Myrlea) were Thracians-in-Asia, whereas for the Catalogue-poet the limit of Priam's Thracians is the Hellespont;[2] (*b*) by the indication supplied by *Il.* 3. 184 ff. that the Phrygians themselves were but recently arrived in what later became Bithynia, and were still cutting their way up the Sangarios valley in the early manhood of King Priam.

The Catalogue, then, sets a block of Pelasgians between the home-country of the Troad and the Thracians; and the mention of Sestos in the previous section, along with Abydos and Arisbe, shows that the poet's survey has already reached *and crossed* the Hellespont. The probability therefore is that the Pelasgians of the Catalogue occupied an area between the Hellespont at Sestos, and the proper country of the Thracians.

At this point a geographical consideration comes to our aid. Between the Isthmus of the Chersonese, and the headquarters of the Thracians in the basin of the Hebrus, lies the rougher and more hilly tract from C. Sarpedon to the Hieron Oros, which in historic times was occupied by the Caeni and Apsinthians, but which, though overrun thus later by Thracian tribes, never became wholly incorporated in the geographical area of 'Thrace.' It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that this same area corresponds with the non-Thracian, and at the same time non-Hellespontine area, which the poet of the Catalogue assigns to the 'Pelasgians.'

[2] In post-Homeric time we shall find copious evidence of this Thrako-Phrygian thrust south-eastward across the Hellespontine area. I have broken here my rule of not using post-Homeric evidence as commentary on Homer; but only because the event under discussion is itself *ex hypothesi* post-Homeric.

It was inevitable that the occurrence of the place-name *Larisa* in this passage should give rise to copious speculation: particularly as one of the principal towns of Thessaly bore this name, and lay at no very great distance either from 'Pelasgian' Argos or from 'Pelasgian' Zeus at Dodona; and another Larisa (L. Kremaste, not mentioned in Homer) lay later closely adjacent to the former, in the territory assigned to Protesilaus. Prof. Ridgeway, for example,[2a] pronounces without hesitation for the Thessalian Larisa, and avoids the obvious difficulty, how people from the Thessalian Larisa should be fighting on Priam's side, by laying stress on the form ναιετάασκον as meaning 'used to live there, but have ceased to live there now.' But exactly the same grammatical form is used of the men of Karystos and Styra (l. 539); and there is no more reason in the one case than in the other, for supposing that they did not intend to go back to their respective homes, as soon as the war was over. Further, the form ναιετάασκον does not differ appreciably in meaning from the ordinary imperfect, ἔναιον, which is used for example (l. 681) of the Achaean Hellenes who inhabited Pelasgic Argos; nor in the significance of the tense from the καλεῦντο of l. 684. Had these people then migrated long since from South Thessaly, and ceased to be called Myrmidons?

Moreover, even supposing that ναιετάασκον had the meaning which is suggested, it proves nothing more as to the *Thessalian* Larisa than it would prove about any other of the numerous towns of this name. The place-name Larisa, in fact, is so common in the Aegean, that it is of no practical use as a landmark. Moreover, so common a name probably had at first a merely descriptive meaning. What if Λάρισαν ναιετάασκον should be found to have meant that they 'dwelt in a Burgh'? If however it were legitimate to 'count heads' in such a matter, or to neglect the lateness of our authorities for all these place-names, the distribution of the name Larisa on the map would distinctly favour a Hellespontine home for the Homeric Pelasgi as against a Thessalian; for a clear majority of the known sites are strewn down the Anatolian coast, from the Troad southwards, in exactly the same manner as are, for example, the towns with the name Pedasa, which looks as if it had the same termination, and occupies the analogous place in the ethnological cycle of the Leleges; and, for that matter, also, as those with the place-name Magnesia, which has likewise its counterpart on the Thessalian side.

As long as it was thought admissible to regard the Pelasgians as an 'Asiatic people,'[3] any one of these Asiatic towns would have served the purpose of this passage. And if it were not for the specific mention of Sestos, it would be tempting to regard these Pelasgians as covering the basin of the Satnioeis which is not separately mentioned in the Catalogue, though two heroes are described as coming from thence to the war.[4] But against this

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[2a] *Early Age of Greece* (Cambridge 1901) i. p. 172.

[3] On the evidence of *Il.* 10. 429; on which see below.

[4] *Il.* 6. 34. 14. 445. This Larisa might then be identified with a little town of that name on the coast about five miles south of Alexandria Troas.

identification the following considerations are decisive: (1) it would utterly dislocate the geographical sequence of the tribe-groups; (2) this area is definitely assigned in other Homeric passages to the Leleges,[5] who (with their neighbours, the Kilikes) are not mentioned in the Catalogue; (3) the epithet *ἐριβώλακα* is hardly applicable to the mere coast-strip some four miles long by two wide, which is all that the Troad Larisa can offer; (4) when the Pelasgian Hippothoon is killed in *Il.* 17. 301, it is *τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβώλακος*, and the Homeric usage of *τῆλε* is entirely against its application to a town only fifteen miles (on a straight road) from Troy, and fully in sight of it.[6]

It is probable then that the 'deep-soiled' Larisa of the Pelasgians in the Catalogue is yet another unidentified site which bore this wide-spread name; and that it is to be sought, with the Pelasgians of the Catalogue themselves, on the European side of the Hellespont; not improbably in the low fertile ground round the head of the Black Gulf, near the site of the later Lysimachia.

(2)

Il. 10. 428–31: *πρὸς μὲν ἁλὸς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι*
καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί,
πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' ἔλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοί τ' ἀγέρωχοι
καὶ Φρύγες ἱππόδαμοι καὶ Μῇονες ἱπποκορυσταί.

The passage is Dolon's statement of the order in which certain allies of Priam had been assigned their camping-grounds on either flank—*πρὸς ἁλός*, *πρὸς Θύμβρης*—of Troy-Town. The names are not in geographical order: the Karians are separated from the majority of the Asiatic allies, and are brigaded, so to speak, with Paeonians and Leleges; and the Pelasgians are separated both from the Paeonians, and from the Thracians. The latter are expressly stated in the sequel (l. 433) to have arrived late, and occupied a separate camp by themselves. The passage would, indeed, have barely deserved mention, were it not that some modern writers[7] have quoted it to prove that the Pelasgians are an Asiatic people, ignoring not only the whole tenour of the context, but the further circumstance that whatever conclusions are drawn from the passage as to the geographical situation of the Pelasgians must equally apply to that of the Paeonians in the preceding line. Yet no

[5] *Il.* 10. 429 (Leleges, without locality, in the camp-passage); *Il.* 20. 92–6 (Leleges and Trojans inhabit Lyrnessos and Pedasos); *Il.* 21. 86–7 (Leleges live on the Satnioeis R., and Pedasos is their capital).

[6] *E.g.* in the whole Trojan Catalogue only the Alizones and the Lycians come *τηλόθεν*: in *Il.* 16. 233 Zeus of Dodona is *τηλόθι ναίων*, *i.e.* remote from Olympus, or from Phthia. Strabo's phrase about the Troad Larisa, *ἐν ὄψει τελέως*, is wholly justified when tested on the site.

[7] *E.g.* Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i.² 165. 'also unter historischen Stämmen Kleinasiens.' To justify this, he omits the Paeonians from his list: compare p. 166 'kleinasiatische P.' Compare also Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* i. p. 69. 'Sie werden erwähnt als asiatische Hulfstruppen der Trojaner'; p. 70. 'Nach diesen Stellen (the Homeric passages) zu urtheilen sind sie ein Stamm der in Epirus, Thessalien und Kleinasien sass.'

one, so far as I am aware, has ventured to contend that the Paeonians are an Asiatic people.[8]

(3)

Od. 19. 175–7 (describing the peoples of Crete): ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.

Note here, first, that, as the context shows, the object of the poet is to 'add verisimilitude' to one of Odysseus' many inventions. Any information which it gives, therefore, may be assumed to have been correct information for the poet's original audience, as well as for the presumed audience of Odysseus. The passage therefore describes the populations of Crete as they appeared at the date of the composition of the poem; and it is consequently of the first value as evidence in the present enquiry.

At first sight it is not obvious how a tribe, whom elsewhere Homeric poets only know as a European people bordering on the Hellespont, should also have had an abode in Crete. But the context in which the Pelasgians are introduced seems to supply a clue. Of the other peoples enumerated, two, the Eteokretes and the Kydones, may probably be assumed to be indigenous (in a general sense); the former in the east of the island, where tradition and archaeology alike attest the survival in historic times of a distinct type of language and culture; the latter in the west, ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον—so to speak—of the mountains of Sphakia. The Achaeans, on the other hand, may fairly be regarded as a southerly section of the Achaeans of the Greek mainland; and these we may accept, on Homeric authority, as comparatively recent immigrants.[9]

There remain the Dorians and the Pelasgians: both—like the Peloponnesian Achaeans of Herodotus viii. 73—in an intermediate position, neither exclusively Cretan, like the Kydones and Eteokretes, nor quite recent ἐπήλυδες like the Achaeans of Idomeneus. Anything therefore which we may infer from this passage as to the Cretan Pelasgians must either be applicable, provisionally at all events,[9a] to the Cretan Dorians, or there must be countervailing evidence, of Homeric date, to enable us to differentiate the two cases. But the latter alternative is out of the question, for Dorians are not elsewhere mentioned at all in Homeric literature. We are therefore

[8] Relying on *Il.* 2. 848–9, 16. 287–8, I make a present to the adversary of Hdt. 5. 23. 98, where the *force majeure* of Darius makes them 'Asiatic' for a season, as strategical needs do here!

[9] For the pedigree of Idomeneus see the lines which immediately follow *Od.* 19. 178–81, and *Il.* 13. 449–453: it 'goes up to a god,' as Hecataeus would say, in the third generation: Idomeneus—Deucalion (the Argonaut)—Minos—Zeus.

[9a] If it were possible to demonstrate that any real ethnic or political convulsion occurred in the Aegean after the composition of *Iliad* ii but before the composition of *Odyssey* xix, this argument would of course be invalidated. This however is one of those prospective refinements in the treatment of these data which, as I have explained already, I have felt at liberty to neglect, in the interest of the main argument.

confined by our present purpose to such inferences only as would hold good equally of Dorians.[10]

Now the obvious inference, as to the Pelasgians, is that the Cretan Pelasgians were so called by the poet because they were known by him to be a branch of the Hellespontine Pelasgians: they are distinguished from the old population of the island, and linked with a people whom we have strong reason for believing to be of more northerly origin; and geographical considerations once more confirm the impression that the Pelasgians also hail from the north. The north wind prevails in the Aegean area for by far the greater part of the year: Homeric sailors at all events were well acquainted with its behaviour; and Crete, lying as it does like a breakwater across the mouth of the Aegean, was probably already then the same dreaded 'lee-shore' that it has been ever since, for every boat which goes adrift south of the Dardanelles.[11] Even on the modern map of Crete, place-names like *Τοπόλια*, *Βουλγάρους*, *Σκλαβιδοχώρι*, *Σκλαβοπούλα*—perhaps also *Ῥωσσοχώρι* and *Ῥῶσσα-σπίτια*,—are sufficient evidence of what happens; and the post-Homeric stories of Phrygian settlements, no less than the occurrence of Phrygian cults, and of North-Aegean place-names like *Λάρισα*, *Ἴδα*, and the Macedonian *Πύδνα*(*Ἱεράπυτνα*)[12] and *Δῖον* (*Δία*) go far to confirm the inference already drawn from the geography.

The mention of Macedonian place-names recalls us to the question whether the argument is equally applicable, as it should be, to the Cretan Dorians of the Odyssey. The non-mention of Dorians on the Homeric mainland makes it impossible to complete the parallel directly; but there is another case of silence in the poems, so significant that it can hardly be due to chance; while, if it is not due to chance, it comes very near supplying the missing link in our reasoning. Of all the coast-line of the Aegean, from Malea to the coast of Lycia, only one section is unaccounted for in the Catalogues of *Iliad* 2. Priam's confederacy ranges, as we have seen, from Lycia to the Hellespont, and from the Hellespont to the river Axios: Agamemnon's allies extend from Rhodes and Kos to Peloponnese and the Western Islands, and thence to Oloosson (Elassona) on the northern frontier of Thessaly. But of the coast of Macedon itself, from the foot of Olympus to the mouth of the Axios, there is not a word from the beginning to the end of

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[10] This point of view was in vogue already in late antiquity. Andron for example (fr. 3. quoted by Strabo 475) would seem to derive all three alike from Thessaly: impelled, no doubt, by the later belief that there were Pelasgians as well as Achaeans and Dorians in Thessaly. *τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἐτεόκρητας καὶ τοὺς Κύδωνας αὐτόχθονας ὑπάρξαι εἰκός, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπήλυδας, οὓς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας φησὶν ἐλθεῖν Ἄνδρων τῆς Δωρίδος μὲν πρότερον νῦν δὲ Ἑστιαιωτίδος λεγομένης.* But Andron's guess is neither Homer nor Homeric.

[11] Professor Ridgeway has taken exactly the reverse view (*Early Age of Greece*, p. 86). 'As it is an island far removed from the rest of Greece, it was much less likely to have its population mixed by constant advances of other tribes, such as took place in the history of northern Greece and northern Italy.' What I say in the text rests only on my own experience of Crete, on that of the people I have met there, and on the history of Aegean navigation since Homeric times.

[12] *Λαρισαῖον πεδίον* at Hierapytna. Str. 440: *Λάρισα*=Gortyna. St. Byz. *s. v.* *Γόρτυν*.

the epic. Now if the unanimous Hellenic tradition[13] is correct, that the Dorians of historic times made their immediate entry into Greece in post-Homeric times, and from the north; and if, as Herodotus states, in the stage which immediately preceded that entry they were 'described as a Macedonian folk,' it would be exactly this strip of coast which would fall first into the hands of the new-comers, and give them access to the sea. It would be this strip also, consequently, which would first fall *out* of the ken of Aegean political life in the event of invasion from the north. Macedon in fact was already in the Homeric Age the thin end of the black wedge of barbarism, which two generations later was to be driven into the heart of the Aegean.

In the light of this consideration, the occurrence of a Dorian vanguard in Homeric Crete becomes not only natural but almost inevitable: as inevitable in fact, under the geographical conditions, then and now, as the occurrence there of a vanguard of Pelasgians; supposing only that the Pelasgians, as the previous passages have sufficiently suggested, were a people of the north-east angle of the Aegean, exposed to closely analogous pressure seawards from the Thraco-Phrygian movement across their *Hinterland*.[14]

§ 3—*The Adjective* Πελασγικός *in Homer.*

It illustrates well the peculiar methods of criticism which have been tolerated hitherto, that the two Homeric passages on which the greatest stress has been laid by commentators on this topic are those in which the Pelasgians themselves are not expressly named, or stated to exist in the areas in question; but where the mere adjective Πελασγικός is used to express some attribute which in the poet's mind recalled analogous attributes in the Pelasgians who were known to himself; and where, moreover, it is possible without going outside the text of the *Iliad* itself to set up a fair probability that there *were not* any Pelasgian inhabitants at the period described in the poems. The two passages are as follows:—

(4)

Il. 2. 681–4: Νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,
οἵ τ' Ἄλον οἵ τ' Ἀλόπην οἵ τε Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο,
οἵ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί.

It will be admitted, I think, that it is a little unfortunate for the supporters

[13] Here, as above, p. 173, I am using post-Homeric evidence solely to establish a post-Homeric event.

[14] If further analogies be desired, they are supplied by the copious Hellenic tradition of the *Thracian* settlements in Euboea, in Attica, and in Naxos, which belong, apparently, to the same immediately post-Homeric period as those Thracian incursions into Hellespontine Asia, which resulted in the establishment of a Bithynia. But the extant evidence for all this is comparatively late.

of current 'Pelasgic Theories,' that on the one occasion in the Homeric poems where the epithet 'Pelasgic' is applied to any *locality* at all, the poet should have so rapidly corrected any false impressions which this might convey, by adding that the people who actually lived there were not called 'Pelasgians' or anything of the kind, but were in fact specifically 'Achaeans,' and indeed uniquely 'Hellenes.' Note, moreover, that the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος of Homer is a quite different region of Thessaly from that which contains Λάρισα.

The difficulty is usually evaded[15] by explaining that though Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος was held by Hellenes in the time of the poet, or in the time of the Trojan War, it had once upon a time been inhabited by Pelasgians, and that possibly descendants of these Pelasgians may have survived as subjects of Achaean and Hellenic conquerors. All this however is commentator's inference, not the statement of the Homeric poet; and it will hardly be contended that a passage like this stands in the same plane of authority with that in the 'Trojan Catalogue' (*Il.* 2. 843). What it was about the Thessalian Argos which struck the poet or his audience as 'Pelasgic,' it is probably too late to determine; but it may be conjectured that the phrase may have been suggested by some such remains of early or at all events pre-Achaean fortifications as are so prominent later in Attic legends. No such connotation however would be possible at all until the Pelasgic name had ceased to be merely denotative, and had come to be used in just such a general sense of 'prehistoric' as would naturally prompt the observation, which follows, that though the *town*[16] was of immemorial age, its *inhabitants* now were Achaeans, Hellenes, and Myrmidons, and of quite recent institution there. And this is all that, for the moment, we are concerned to show. 'Pelasgian' in fact had already two senses in Homeric Greek: it meant, as a substantive, certain actual allies of Priam, and their congeners in Crete: as an adjective it meant 'prehistoric'—'that which once was, but most emphatically is not now.' Of course the occurrence of a connotative adjective of this kind is as far from disproving, as it is from proving, that the facts were as the poet seems to have believed: 'prehistoric' is not by any means the same as 'unhistoric.' All that I contend for is that if a Pelasgian population of this Argos is ever assumed to have existed, it shall be on some more convincing data than can be derived from this passage.

The other adjectival passage is the phrase in the prayer of Achilles:—

[15] *E.g.* Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i.[2] 165 'Das Epitheton Pelasgikon setzt jedenfalls voraus, dass in Thessalien Pelasger wohnten oder gewohnt hatten:' cf. 167 'so mussten wohl die Pelasger die vor-achaischen und vor-hellenischen autochthonen Bewohner des Landes gewesen sein.' See also S. Bruck, *Quae veteres de Pelasgis tradiderint* (Breslau 1884), p. 5.

[16] Whether τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος means the *town* (ranging with Halos, Alope, and the rest) or the *district*, is a matter of indifference to the argument. Analogy suggests that in the Catalogue, as it stands, a specific *town* is intended. In any case we must note that τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος in Homer means a quite different part of Thessaly from the Πελασγιωτίς of Hellanicus and later writers: and that the area of this Πελασγιωτίς is quite differently accounted for in the Homeric Catalogue; as also is the country round the Thessalian Larisa.

(5)

Il. 16. 233–5 : Ζεῦ, ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται, ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεῦναι.

Here we should note, first, that it is not quite clear why Achilles—most Hellenic of all the Achaeans, according to *Il.* 2. 681 ff. above—should pray in his deepest need to a Zeus 'of the Pelasgians,'[17] if by this he meant actual contemporary non-Hellenic inhabitants of Dodona. To assume that Zeus of Dodona is a local 'Pelasgian' deity annexed by Achaean conquerors is to beg the question. Moreover, the more local a deity is, in all ages, the more restricted is his sphere of influence: for an Achaean at Troy the unqualified Zeus of the rest of the Iliad, anthropomorphic and πολυπλάνητος κάρτα as the Achaeans themselves, was surer defence than a *Gau-gott* in Epirus.

Next, the poet of the Catalogue at all events was aware that the actual inhabitants of Dodona were no more Pelasgians than were those of 'Pelasgic Argos:' for *Il.* 2. 749 expressly describes them as Ἐνιῆνες (Aenianes) and Perrhaebians, both of them well-established and wide-spread Thessalian peoples who persisted into Hellenic times in this region,[17a] and are in no sense identifiable with Pelasgians.[18] Here therefore, as in South Thessaly, we have only the name, not the people themselves, in Homeric times; but here, fortunately, we have something of a clue, which was wanting wholly in Thessaly, as to *why* the Pelasgian name was appropriate to the cult of Zeus of Dodona.

If there were two points of behaviour on which an Achaean, whether chieftain, or poet, or audience, was scrupulously careful in daily life, it was in the use of the bath, and in the choice and arrangement of his bedding. If there were any two points therefore in which the dancing-dervishes of Dodona would seem remarkable and repulsive in the eyes of an Achaean, it would be that they were ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεῦναι: and the only possible excuse for such behaviour in the ministers of a god to whom an Achaean chief could pray thus as to his own god, would be that this was actually part of the immemorial observance, and came down from 'prehistoric,' that is to say (as in Thessaly) from 'Pelasgian' times.

I admit that at one time I was puzzled by the intrusion, at such a moment, of details so grotesque and so pedantic; especially as there was no evidence either of interpolation in the prayer itself, or of 'late' tastelessness in the context; and consequently no doubt that we have here as genuine and fervent a prayer as the poet could frame for his hero. But we have only

[17] Busolt. i.[2] 165, conjectures that Zeus of Dodona 'auch der einheimische Gott der Pelasgischen Thessaliens war.' This presupposes the existence of a Thessalian Dodona such as was invented by Unger (*Philol. Suppl.* Bd. ii. 1863, pp. 377 ff.) on the basis of a note of Suidas. Cf. Niese, *Hom. Schiffskatalog.* p. 43.

[17a] *E.g.* Busolt. i.[2] 165.

[18] Except of course in so far as Pelasgian can be forced to mean the 'Mediterranean Race' of modern Italian ethnologists: and even here I have my doubts whether the populations of Pindus would be accepted by ethnologists as in any true sense 'Mediterranean.'

to glance at our own Book of Common Prayer to see that the practice of piling up descriptive phrases in invocation is not confined to Homeric liturgy; and it does not need great experience of popular extempore prayer, to confirm the observation that the descriptive invocations which mean most to the suppliant are often quite ludicrous to the bystander. What the function of such descriptive invocations may be is not yet clear. Most probably they are of the nature of a pass-word, intimating to the deity, by allusion to some intimate quality or mystic rite, that the suppliant is himself initiate and fit to be heard. But doubtless they serve also to express and to enhance the suppliant's mental presentment of the recipient of his prayer; and also, no doubt, like picturesque abuse, to attract the attention of a god who, for the moment, peradventure sleepeth.

In this sense then, that he was a god with an ancient and unusual ritual, Zeus of Dodona may conceivably have been 'Pelasgic;' and certainly not demonstrably in any other. It is exactly as if a man nowadays should describe Stonehenge as 'Druidical.' No word is said in the text as to worship paid by *Pelasgians* either recent or extinct; and no Pelasgians can be shown, on Homeric evidence at all events, to have existed in Homeric times nearer than Crete and the Hellespont.

On the other hand, each of these two adjectival passages, taken literally and in connexion with Homeric passages solely, does seem to suggest that adjectivally 'Pelasgian' meant already not merely 'prehistoric,' but either positively 'pre-Achaean,' or negatively merely 'non-Achaean': that in fact the correlative—as well as connotative—usage, which predominated in Hellenic times, was already familiar in the Homeric Age.

§ 4.—*The Origin of the Connotative Usage of 'Pelasgian' in Homer.*

How did this antithesis between 'Pelasgian' and 'Achaean' arise? Again a probable answer seems to suggest itself, when once we refrain from contaminating Homeric texts with the later Hellenic commentary. Among all their references to earlier times the Homeric poets know no such universal 'gathering of the clans' as that which rallied to the aid of Menelaos. The Trojan Expedition then, as Thucydides was aware, was probably the first exploit—not excepting even the original Achaean Invasion, which may well have been gradual—which was in the strict sense *Panhellenic*, and so the first occasion on which a common designation was required for the members of the great confederacy, Hence two phenomena: firstly, a struggle for survival among several generic names, Ἀργεῖοι, Δαναοί, Ἀχαιοί, with a marked predominance of the last named; secondly, the beginnings —under the literary stress of the compilation of the catalogue—of a new use of an originally merely tribal name Ἕλληνες, not merely as synonymous *both* with the specific Μυρμιδόνες *and* with the generic Ἀχαιοί but also as a characterization-word to express *connotatively* that dawning 'Hellenism' which was coming to be the common bond between chief and people, as well as between chief and chief. This latter connotative sense,

moreover, comes out more clearly still in the obviously 'coined' word Πανέλληνες in the description of Aias a few lines further on.[18a] For Aias was not in the strict sense a 'Hellene' (*i.e.* a Myrmidon-Achaean) at all.

The Homeric Achaeans, then, were brought to the very brink of 'Hellenism' by the crisis of the Trojan War; and in the compilation of the Catalogue the momentous name came to light. What determined, then, the choice of a correlative? In all probability, the same great crisis, and its sequel.

Thucydides explains the absence of the word βαρβάρους in Homeric Greek, διὰ τὸ μηδ' Ἕλληνάς πω. But the converse also is valid: as soon as the Hellenic peoples began to feel the need of a common denomination for themselves, the need arose also for a common word for 'non-Hellenic.' The Homeric poets had however no single generic word for the confederates of Priam, and the circumstance, that the war was mainly a siege of Troy, made the name Τρῶες, and its quasi-synonyms Δάρδανοι, Τεῦκροι more nearly adequate than might otherwise have been the case.

Pass on however to the period which immediately followed the war. Troy-town had fallen; the hegemony of Priam was at an end; extensive settlements of Achaean 'Hellenes,' as the place-names [19] and the archaeological evidence show, occurred on the Troad coast; and the need for a generic name for the neighbouring tribes recurred with renewed force. Landwards in Asia Minor, indeed, the old names 'Mysian' or 'Phrygian' seem to have remained in use for the nearest large groups of folk, who were moreover closely akin to the old Trojans. The Troad itself, with its population always mongrel, and its varying degrees of Hellenization, easily acquired the descriptive title of Αἰολίς—'patchwork-land.' It was only seawards, therefore, beyond the Hellespont, that any real difficulty would arise. Now exactly in this direction the contrast between Greek settler and barbarous native was being enhanced, during this very period, by that Thracian thrust which we have already seen to correspond dynamically with the Dorian thrust in the North-West Aegean; and with so marked a geographical feature as the Hellespont between Hellenic Asia and non-Hellenic Europe, it would be only natural to expect that the correlative to 'Hellene'—for this corner of the Hellenic world at all events—would be the name of the dominant or characteristic native tribe. Now we have already seen that in the Catalogue the dominant folk in this area between Hebrus and Hellespont are not the Thracians strictly so-called but the Pelasgi: and it was probably in some such circumstances as these that the antithesis of Ἕλλην and Πελασγός first took rise.[20] From

[18a] *Iliad* 2. 530.

[19] The case of Achilleion and Sigeion are typical. The Athenians, in the time of Periander, could claim οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρης ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι. ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεῳ τὰς Ἑλένης ἁρπαγάς. Hdt. v. 94.

[20] All who like Busolt (*G.G.* i.² 157 conjecture that the antithesis arose in Thessaly, and was transferred during the Aeolic migration to Aeolis may reasonably be asked first to catch their Thessalian Pelasgians, and then to point to the circumstances (if any) *other* than the existence of our trans-Hellespontine Pelasgians, which made the transference itself appropriate

meaning 'pre-Achaean' in the mother country the name of the Pelasgi comes now to mean 'pre-Hellenic' in this colonial region; but acquires also now the further connotation of 'barbarous' which we can trace indeed to the case of Zeus of Dodona, but which does not otherwise meet us till we come to Hellenic writers.

We have thus, within Homeric time, a situation in which almost inevitably the names Ἕλλην and Πελασγός came, in merely descriptive fashion, to stand for 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' respectively: so that it was possible for a Homeric poet to describe either rude non-Achaean fortifications, or uncouth ritual survivals, as 'Pelasgian,' without intending to convey any suggestion as to the ethnological status of their originators.

That this interpretation of the evidence is correct is suggested also by comparison with what happened elsewhere. In the South-East Aegean we hear little of Πελασγοί; and in proportion as they recede from view, two other names Κᾶρες and Λέλεγες become prominent as generic names for non-Hellenes. Here, fortunately, in the case of the Carians, the Homeric evidence is sufficient to show that in Homeric times these folks were already dominant in Caria, and in possession of coast towns; that their speech was unintelligible to Achaeans; and that they were philo-Trojan. To this, the subsequent evidence adds only this: first that the domination of actual Carians over Caria persisted until the fourth century and later; but, secondly, that in the interval between Homer and Herodotus, there sprang up in the South Aegean a great 'Carian Theory'—in all respects analogous to the 'Pelasgian Theory' of the North Aegean—in which many 'Carian'-looking survivals and antiquities, in Crete, in the islands, and even so far afield as Attica and the Megarid, were construed in the light of the piratical performances of the real Carians of the vii–vi centuries as evidence of a wide-spread 'Carian' barbarism in pre-Hellenic times: until, by a strange inversion of history, it is to a direct ancestor of the Achaean Idomeneus that the first 'pan-Hellenic' crusade was attributed by the writers of the fifth century.[21]

An examination of the ancient references to the Leleges leads to a similar result. An actual people, in Homer, on the Asiatic coast land, they fade, in Hellenic times, first into the fabled builders of archaic τάφοι and πολίσματα, then into an ethnologists' label for pre-historic traits in Messenia and other parts of European Greece.[21a]

§ 5.—*Lemnos, Imbros, and the Hellespontine Area in Homer.*

Before leaving the Homeric data, mention should be made of two groups of passages, which, though in a sense negative evidence, are of some importance when compared with the statements of fifth century writers.

One group concerns the population of Lemnos and Imbros in the Homeric Age. Both islands are mentioned as geographical stepping-stones

[21] Hdt. i. 171. Thuc. i. 4. [21a] Strabo 611. Cf. Paton and Myres, *J.H.S.* xvi, 267–70.

between Europe and Asia,[22] and are quite well known to the poet; but so far from being occupied by Pelasgians from the adjacent mainland, or by any allies of Priam at all, they are apparently on the Achaean side. Lemnos in particular is still the 'city of Thoas,'[23] and ruled by Eunëus, son of Jason and Hypsipyle,[24] who had apparently allowed the Achaeans to put in to Lemnos on their way to Troy,[25] and traded on provisions at their camp.[26] He also seems to have been of use to them by providing a market for their prisoners of war, for he bought Lycaon son of Priam from Patroclus with a Sidonian cup which had belonged to Thoas.[27] Eetion of Imbros carried on a similar slave trade with Eunëus, and in due course bought Lycaon;[28] but, being a *ξεῖνος* of the House of Priam, let his purchase escape and go home: or perhaps this indirect ransom of a princely prisoner was a 'put-up affair' throughout. In any case there is no trace of a Pelasgian in either island; and not only is the Minyan occupation still effective, but a native population is described, which is twice expressly described as *Σίντιες*.[29] In both passages they are mentioned in connexion with Hephaestus; but they are not stated to stand in any special relation to him,[30] and they cannot be merely mythical, for they are *ἀγριόφωνοι*,[31] and this implies personal experience of them on the part not merely of the Achaeans but of the poet or his audience. The *Σίντιες* do not appear at all in historic times in Lemnos; but we shall see that a tribe of similar name existed on the neighbouring mainland to the north in the latter part of the fifth century (p. 205).

The other group of passages concerns the Hellespont, and implies at the same time a frontier and a tendency to migrate beyond it; and we shall be dealing so much with theories of migration in the sequel, that a Homeric hint of migration in the Hellespontine area must not be overlooked. The definition of the Thracians in the catalogue as

ὅσσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἐέργει,[32]

clearly suggests that, though the Thracians of Europe were under the overlordship of Priam, there existed other Thracians whom the Hellespont had had not succeeded in confining, and who led a more or less nomadic life on its further or Asiatic bank, like the Galatae of eventual Galatia. That a Thracian invasion of North-western Asia had already begun in Homeric times is probable, if only for this reason, that it is almost impossible to say where (in the generic sense) Thracian ended and Phrygian began; and it was only in Priam's youth, we must remember, that the Phrygians themselves had pushed up the valley of the Sangarius and fought their great battle

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[22] Lemnos, Il. 14. 230, 281: Imbros, 14. 281.

[23] *Il.* 14. 230.

[24] *Il.* 7. 467: 21. 40–42.

[25] *Il.* 8. 230.

[26] *Il.* 7. 467.

[27] *Il.* 23. 745–7.

[28] *Il.* 21. 42–4.

[29] *Il.* 1. 554, *Od.* 8. 294.

[30] In the *Iliad* they merely pick him up when he was thrown out of Heaven; in the *Odyssey* too (in the mouth of his flighty lady) they are 'those horrid people' whom he will find when he goes to Lemnos.

[31] *Od.* 8. 294.

[32] *Il.* 2. 845.

with the Amazon-folk.[33] Now if, and when, any such pressure on the European shores of the Hellespont was in progress, the immediate and inevitable result would be to squeeze out the Pelasgians of the Catalogue from Europe into Asia[34]: and exactly this result we shall meet before long.

§ 6.—*Hesiod and the Later Epic.*

For the long period which intervenes between Homer and Herodotus our sources are unfortunately very few and very fragmentary. They are sufficient, however, to show that the double usage of the Pelasgian name, which we have observed already in Homer, was provoking commentary and speculation; and they give some idea of the directions in which theorists were working. The period divides rather sharply into two phases; an earlier, in which our authorities are few and mainly epic, and where the allusions are incidental and explanatory; and a later, in which we are confronted with a critical and constructive movement, of rapidly increasing originality, and of a growing complexity and multiplicity both of local traditions and of schools of enquiry. It will be convenient still, as in the case of Homer, to keep separate so far as possible the denotative substantival, and the connotative adjectival passages.

A.—*Actual Pelasgians.*—Hesiod (Strabo 327 = fr. 225 Kinkel) is quoted as saying of somebody,

Δωδώνην φηγόν τε, Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον, ᾖεν

which suggests that he interpreted the Homeric phrase *Ζεῦ, ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ* as if it referred to an actual settlement of Pelasgians at Dodona.[34a] Now as Homer populates Dodona not with Pelasgians but with Perrhaebi and Enienes, Hesiod's phrase must imply either dependence on Homeric tradition for a description of Dodona as it might have been in pre-Achaean time—in which case the passage becomes evidence not of ethnology but of current theory—; *or*, if it is really descriptive of Dodona as it was in Hesiod's time (not much before 700 B.C.), it gives us this important addition to our knowledge, that, as we shall see in the case of Lemnos, the arrival of Hesiod's Pelasgians at Dodona must be assigned to post-Homeric time. In either case Hesiod's phrase is no proof that the Pelasgians were autochthonous at Dodona or even existed there in Homer's time.[35]

[33] *Il.* 3. 184–189

[34] For a very remarkable echo in a late writer of this Homeric conception of a 'Thrako-Phrygian thrust' see the passage of Apollonius of Rhodes in the *Appendix* p. 222 below.

[34a] Here he is more than followed by Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* i. 69 'Hesiod hat dann ausdrücklich gesagt, dass Dodona der Sitz der Pelasger war.' Surely the most that may be argued is that Dodona was *a* settlement of Pelasgians.

[35] In later times it certainly was not always interpreted so. Ephorus for example, who as we shall see was mainly responsible for the rehabilitation of Hesiodic views about the Pelasgians, certainly regarded Dodona as one of the settlements of his Pelasgian emigrants from Arcadia. (Ephoros *ap.* Strabo 327 *ἔστι δ', ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος, Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα (ἡ Δωδώνη)· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δυναστευόντων ἀρχαιότατοι λέγονται.*)

B. *Theoretical Pelasgians.*—Asius, who flourished about 700 B.C., is quoted by Pausanias (8. 1. 4) as follows:—

> *ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσι*
> *Γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.*

Here for the first time a man 'Pelasgus' appears as an individual eponymos; and also not merely as 'prehistoric,' but as 'primitive,'—the first of mankind. Pausanias has just stated that 'the Arcadians say that Pelasgus was the first man who lived in this land;' but an *Arcadian* origin is not claimed for Pelasgus in the passage of Asius, and there is no more reason for holding that Asius believed Pelasgus to have been an Arcadian than for holding that he made him a Dodonaean or a Thessalian.

Hesiod, similarly, knew of an individual Pelasgus, who was 'autochthonous' (*Ἡσίοδος δὲ τὸν Πελασγὸν αὐτόχθονά φησιν εἶναι*)[36] In this he agreed with Asius; but he went further when he wrote *υἱεῖς ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο, ὅν ποτε τίκτε Πελασγός*[37]: for Lycaon is the great culture hero of Western Arcadia, and the progenitor of a family which came eventually to include some fifty eponymi of various places and peoples in Greece.

The contrast presented by these passages from the later epic with the Homeric evidence is apparent at once. In place either of real people familiarly known, or vague allusions to a mysterious past we have a clear-cut theory which represented Pelasgus as the Primeval Man, and consequently his descendants, the Pelasgians, as representatives of an aboriginal race and a primitive phase of culture; and we have also a further stage of theory in the localization of Pelasgus (and consequently of Pelasgians) in Arcadia, which is quite foreign to Homer, and marks the first step in a new path of speculation which we have next to follow out among the writers of the late sixth century and of the fifth.

§ 7.—*The Logographers of the Sixth and Early Fifth Century.*

Two distinct movements may be recognized among the Logographers. On the one hand the method of personification employed by Hesiod and Asius is applied to other parts of Greece, in which traces of Pelasgians were admitted. Hecataeus for example[38] makes Pelasgus a king in Thessaly: for Thessaly, he says, was called Pelasgia *ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τοῦ βασιλέος*. On the other hand, more than one writer, accepting the Hesiodic theory that Pelasgus was the First Man, were at pains to harmonize this theory with the claims of other peoples in Greece to be regarded as aboriginal.

Acusilaus, for instance, writing at about the same time as Hecataeus, seems to have interpolated a personal Pelasgus into the primeval genealogy of Argos. In this genealogy, Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus, becomes the

[36] Apoll. n. 1. 1, 7 = Hesiod fr. 68 Kinkel.
[37] Stu. 221 = fr. Kinkel.
[38] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 266.

earliest mortal consort of Zeus and gives birth to Argos. Acusilaus, himself an Argive, annotates this pedigree like that of the proverbial Welshman —'about this time Adam was born'—and inserts Pelasgus as a cadet brother of Argos. The rest of the genealogy is the expanded version already mentioned of the Hesiodic theory: Pelasgus becomes the father of Lycaon, ὃς βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων ἐκ πολλῶν γυναικῶν πεντήκοντα παῖδας ἐγέννησε, including the *eponymi* of many Arcadian towns, and even of remoter Greek and non-Greek peoples: Thesprotus, Peucetius, Caucon, Macedonus, Phthius, Lycius, and the like. The list ends with Νύκτινος or Νύκτιμος, a 'twilight' personage associated with a *Dämmerung* in the shape of Deucalion's Flood. Meanwhile Lycaon has also a daughter Callisto, who becomes by Zeus the mother of Arcas. Arcas, in due course, survives the Deluge, and becomes the founder of historic Arcadia. How much of all this was the real sequel to Hesiod's phrase υἱεῖς ἐξεγένοντο Λυκάονος ἀντιθέοιο, or how much is later superstructure, is an open question.[39] All that is of importance here is the fact, recorded by Apollodorus,[40] that it was Acusilaus who engrafted Pelasgus into the Argive pedigree,—'Phoroneus, —Niobe—Argos,'—and that this interpolation took place in defiance of the authority of Hesiod, who had made Pelasgus an αὐτόχθων.

That the expanded genealogy of Lycaon was a systematic attempt to ascribe 'Pelasgian' ancestry to certain sets of Greeks, especially in the North-West, is clear from the version ascribed to Pherecydes by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[41] Πελασγοῦ καὶ Δηιανείρης γίνεται Λυκάων .... οὗτος γαμεῖ Κυλλήνην νηΐδα νύμφην, ἀφ ἧς τὸ ὄρος ἡ Κυλλήνη καλεῖται—this domiciles Lycaon, as before, in Arcadia—ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεννηθέντας διεξιών, καὶ τίνας τόπους ἕκαστοι τούτων ᾤκησαν, Οἰνώτρου καὶ Πευκετίου μιμνήσκεται λέγων ὧδε:—κτλ. Here we have a clear formulation of the theory of a *diaspora* of Pelasgian peoples from Arcadia north-westward, to which system and currency were given later on by Ephorus. And we can hardly doubt that the goal of this north-westward movement was the Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον at Dodona, which we have seen reason to believe that Hesiod had invented out of the Homeric epithet of Dodonaean Zeus.

Hellanicus, a generation later, writing ἐν Ἀργολικαῖς like the Argive Acusilaus, makes another and quite different attempt to associate the lineage of Pelasgus with a genealogy which is essentially Argive. This

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[39] This genealogy comes to us as the work of Acusilaus in Apollodorus ii. 1. 1, cf iii. 8. i., confirmed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus i. 17. 3 and Tzetzes, *Lyc.* 481.

[40] iii. 8. 1.

[41] Fragt. 85 = Dionys. Hal. i. 13. It is a misfortune that it is not possible to disentangle with certainty the contributions of the three writers named Pherecydes. Everything that is attributed to them on this topic is so saturated with the ideas of Ephorus (see §§ 14–16 below) that my own inclination is to assign all to the latest of them. But Ephorus certainly used a great mass of genealogical material of earlier than fourth century date: genealogical study of this elaborate kind is characteristic of the later sixth and early fifth century; and in the particular case of Lycaon we have evidence that a metrical genealogy existed which was attributed to Hesiod. So, rather than press my own view of the matter to an extreme, I have chosen to discuss the statements of Pherecydes as if they belonged to the λογογράφος of that name. See also p. 220 below.

theory comes to us in the following form.[42] Triopas, who stands in the same eponymous relation to the Dorian *hexapolis* on the Carian coast, as the hero Argos does to its Argive metropolis, had three sons, Iasus, Pelasgus, and Agenor. On the death of Triopas, these 'divided his kingdom.' Pelasgus took the eastern half, *τὰ πρὸς Ἐρασῖνον ποταμόν*, and founded Larisa (the acropolis of Argos City), calling it after the name of his own daughter (fr. 29). Iasus took the western half, *τὰ πρὸς Ἦλιν*. On the death of Pelasgus and Iasus, Agenor brought cavalry and conquered the whole country. This is all to explain three Homeric epithets of Argos: *Ἴασον, ἱππόβοτον, Πελασγικόν*; and the theory is ascribed to Hellanicus by name. It presupposes that the name *Ἄργος* was applicable to the whole of the kingdom of Triopas, which included all Peloponnese; and so gives us fifth-century authority for the belief underlying the statement of Apollodorus[43] that the hero Argos on succeeding Phoroneus as king called all Peloponnese after his own name. Whether Apollodorus' further contribution, when he puts the hero Argos in place of Triopas, is of earlier date, or is a subsequent attempt to square the genealogy given by Hellanicus with that given by Acusilaus, is another question; and the same observation applies to another variant given by Eustathius,[44] which puts Phoroneus in place of Triopas: an even nearer approximation to the theory of Acusilaus.

An obvious motive for these various attempts to interpolate Pelasgus in genealogies relating to the Peloponnesian Argos has doubtless suggested itself to the reader by this time. There can in fact be little doubt that Hellanicus, or Acusilaus, or both, were the victims, if not the perpetrators, of a simple literary blunder. Hellanicus, it is true, is the first known author who named *Πελασγιῶτις* as one of the Thessalian tetrarchies,[45] and he was as fully convinced as anyone of the existence of a Pelasgian settlement in Thessaly down to the time of the 'Coming of the Hellenes;' so he cannot be acquitted of having known that the Homeric *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* properly referred to some part of Thessaly. Yet he and his immediate predecessors are under grave suspicion of having taken that phrase also as referring not to the Thessalian but to the Peloponnesian Argos; of having confused both with that Thessalian Larisa which is neither part of Homer's *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* nor the home of Homer's actual *Πελασγοί*; and further of having combined this non-existent 'Pelasgian Argos' in Peloponnese with the 'Pelasgian Arcadia,' which we have seen to be Hesiodic doctrine, and of which Acusilaus[46] and Hellanicus[47] were both aware.

The actual reduplication of the place-name Larisa, in Thessaly, in Argolis, and in the country of Homer's actual Pelasgians[48] inevitably increased the confusion, and led to a variety of fresh combinations. Hellanicus[49]

[42] Schol. *Il.* 3.75 = fr. 37. In spite of his later date, I class Hellanicus with the other genealogists, and separate him from Herodotus and Thucydides, on the ground that all that we know of his work marks him as a belated continuator of the logographic school of history-writing.

[43] ii. 1. 2. 2.

[44] Schol. *Il.* 3. 75.

[45] Harpocr. s.v. *τετραρχίαι*.

[46] Apollodorus ii. 1. 1.

[47] Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀρκάς*.

[48] *Il.* 2. 843.

[49] *Phoronis* fr. 1.

makes Pelasgus marry Menippe, a daughter of the Peneius,[50] and so localizes him in Thessaly, and makes him ancestor of a line of Thessalian kings; Phrastor, Amyntor, Teutamidas. Of these the last named is of course suggested by the ancestor of the leaders of that contingent of Pelasgians in Homer,[51] who, as we have seen, are really Hellespontine, and have nothing to do either with Thessaly or Argolis. Hellanicus again,[52] and also Pherecydes,[53] brought Acrisius the Argive on a visit to the Pelasgians of Thessaly, and so explained the existence in Thessaly of the Argive place-name Larisa; and, later, Staphylus of Naucratis brought Pelasgus himself from Argos to Thessaly to found this Thessalian Larisa.[54] There was however apparently yet another tradition in the field—perhaps the legend utilized by Staphylus—which put the foundation of the Thessalian Larisa earlier than the generation of Acrisius; so yet another step was taken by the defenders of the Acrisius theory, by duplicating their *protégé*.[55]

Side by side with all this speculation, one passage from Hecataeus[56] reveals to us an actual population of the Pelasgian name, resident now in Lemnos, but believed to have once lived in Attica. The passage however is only preserved to us in abstract; and we shall be at all events on the safe side if we postpone consideration of it till we come to discuss the views of Herodotus, to whom we owe its preservation.

One set of fragments of Hellanicus[57] deals likewise with Lemnos, or rather, with the Σίντιες, its Homeric population. From merely tending the outcast Hephaestus—and the merest 'Pelasgian' could hardly do less under the circumstances—they have become his Lemnian craftsmen, 'the first artificers of metals,' inventors of armour and implements of destruction; and that is why they are Σίντιες, from σίνεσθαι.[58] They are also, by this time, immigrants from Thrace; for when certain Trojans, who play a part in the foundation-legend of Chios, landed in Lemnos, ἦσαν . . . αὐτόθι κατοικοῦντες Θρᾷκές τινες, οὐ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι· ἐγεγόνεισαν δὲ μιξέλληνες· τούτους ἐκάλουν οἱ περίοικοι Σίντιας. Their 'Hellenic admixture' we must suppose to have been due to contact with the Minyans, and perhaps also with Agamemnon's Achaeans during the war. For the further history of the Σίντιες see p. 205 below.

[50] Compare the alliance arranged by Pherecydes between Pelasgus and Kyllene νηίδα νύμφην (above p. 187); with the result that Pelasgus is localized in Arcadia,

[51] *Il.* 2. 843; *Phoronis* fr. 26 = Schol. Ap Rh. 4. 1090. It is a further question whether in the Homeric phrase υἷε δύω Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο the word Πελασγοῦ means 'son of Pelasgus' or simply 'the Pelasgian;' and again whether Τευταμίδαο means 'son of Teutamidas,' as Hellanicus thought, or rather 'son of Teutamus.'

[52] Fr. 29.

[53] Fr. 26., cf. Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 40, Tzetz. *Lyc.* 838, Steph. Byz. s.v. Λάρισα.

[54] Schol. Ap. Rh. 1. 580.

[55] Apoll. ii. 4, 4.

[56] Hdt. vi. 137.

[57] Fr. 112–3.

[58] Philochorus (fr. 6 = Schol. *Il.* 1. 594) after his manner has pounced upon this bit of philology and adopted it, but explains it quite differently.

§ 8—*The Tragedians.*

How popular in the fifth century was this blunder about the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος is well seen from the tragedians. Aeschylus for example in the *Supplices* (ll. 1 ff.) makes the king of the Peloponnesian Argos call himself the son of Palaichthon the earthborn: he is the eponymos of the Pelasgi, and the lord of a realm which includes everything west of the Strymon, Paeonia, which he seems to put also west of the Strymon,[59] Perrhaebia, Pindus and beyond, and the hills of Dodona. It extends, in fact, as far as the sea, presumably the Adriatic. It also includes all south of this Strymon-Adriatic line as far as, and including, Peloponnese. Here the genealogical diagram Γῆ—Παλαίχθων—Πελασγός is clearly an expansion of the Hesiodic theory of a Πελασγός who is himself αὐτόχθων. The extent of the Pelasgian kingdom is no less clearly determined, partly by the desire to include a 'Pelasgian' Dodona (which had by this time become matter of common knowledge), and the 'Pelasgic Argos' of Thessaly; partly by an attempt to claim for the Pelasgian Argos of Peloponnese the hegemony over all those parts of Greece (including Macedonia) which had come in historic times under the rule of *soi-disant* 'Heracleids from Argos.' It is possible also that the allusion to the Strymon may cover the poet's acquaintance with the fact, known to Herodotus[60] that 'actual' Pelasgians remained extant in the fifth century within the basin of that river.

In *Prometheus*, similarly, Πελασγία is used in a context which shows that the Peloponnesian Argos of Aegisthus and Danaus is meant:—

879 f. Πελασγία σε δέξεται, θηλυκτόνῳ
Ἄρει δαμέντων νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θράσει·

and here too Aeschylus is further supported, as we shall see, by the Herodotean accounts of Argolis as having been Pelasgic at the time of the coming of the Danaids.[60a]

Sophocles in the same way transfers to the Peloponnesian Argos not merely the associations which belong to the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος of Thessaly, but also all that other body of fifth-century doctrine which equated the 'actual Pelasgians' of Thessaly, the Thraceward parts, and Lemnos, with the no less mysterious Tyrseni.

Fr. 256. Ἴναχε γεννᾶτορ, παῖ κρηνῶν
πατρὸς Ὠκεανοῦ, μέγα πρεσβεύων
Ἄργους τε γύαις, Ἥρας τε πάγοις
καὶ Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελασγοῖς.[60b]

[59] Remember here (1) that Homer's Paeonia runs as far west as the river Axius; (2) that though in the sixth century Paeonia had extended a good way east of the Strymon, yet all this eastern region had been made ἀνάστατος in the time of Darius. Hdt. 5. 15. Nor does it seem ever to have recovered its Paeonian character; in the fifth and fourth centuries it is definitely included in 'Thrace,' from which 'Paeonia' proper is distinct both in Homer, in Herodotus, and even later.

[60] Hdt. 2. 171; 7. 94. see § 10 below.

[60a] Hdt. 7. 94: 2. 171.

[60b] Dion H. 1. 25. For the Tyrseni see § 17 below.

Euripides contributes little. His regular use of the epithet 'Pelasgian' is to denote the Peloponnesian Argos and its population, both Achaean, as in the *Orestes*, and *Iphigenia in Aulis*,[60c] and pre-Achaean, as in the *Phoenissae*, and the *Supplices*.[60d] In *Orestes* 1247, Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος clearly means Achaean Mycenae. Only in one passage does he distinguish between the previous Πελασγιῶται and the culture hero Danaus, whose name they are caused to assume.[61]

§ 9.—*Herodotus: (a) his independence of the Hesiodic School.*

With Herodotus we are once more in broad daylight. His allusions to the Pelasgians are numerous, and his usage of the name, though it varies, is on the whole intelligible. His work also shows sufficiently clear points of contact both with recent observation and with contemporary theory to permit it to be used as a commentary on the more fragmentary utterances of other fifth-century writers. It has on the other hand the disadvantage that, thanks to the eclipse which befel the History almost as soon as it was published, it had surprisingly little influence on the course of later speculation. But herein there was gain, as well as loss, as we shall see.

Herodotus has, in the first place, no mention of an individual eponymous Πελασγός; and no direct contact with the Hesiodic theory at all, except the bare allusion to the Arcadians as being in the theoretical sense Pelasgians,[62] and as being autochthonous in Peloponnese like the Cynurians.[63] But the Arcadians are in no way specially marked out as aboriginal or Pelasgic; and their Cynurian colleagues are never called by him Pelasgian.

This leads us to the positive side of Herodotus' work; and here once more we must distinguish between a writer's accounts of Pelasgians actually surviving in his own day, or extinguished within living memory, and his statements of a 'Pelasgian Theory' of early Greece.

§ 10.—*Herodotus: (b) actual Pelasgians as survivals, chiefly in the North Aegean.*

Actual Pelasgians, either surviving or recently extinct, are known to Herodotus in three distinct areas, all on or near the north coast of the Aegean.

(1) *At Placie and Scylace*, on the south shore of Propontis, a little east of Cyzicus, and presumably on the secluded Karadagh plateau. These Pelasgians still retain their name, and speak a peculiar language which is not intelligible to their neighbours.[64] Note that these Pelasgians are

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[60c] Πελασγία *Or.* 960, *I.A.* 1498; Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος *Or.* 1601: Πελασγὸν Ἄ. *Or.* 692, 1296; Πελασγὸν ἔδος Ἀργείων *Or.* 1247.

[60d] Πελασγία *Suppl.* 368: Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος *Phoen.* 256; Πελασγικὸν στράτευμα *Phoen.* 105–6.

[61] Fr. 227. See p. 221 below.

[62] i. 146, ii. 171.

[63] viii. 73 οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτά· τούτων τὰ μὲν δύο. αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα, κατὰ χώρην ἵδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι [οἴκεον], Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι.

[64] i. 57.

situated immediately across the water from the abode of the Pelasgians of the Trojan Catalogue; and exactly in the direction to which the south-eastward thrust of Thracians, Treres, and Kimmerians in post-Homeric times had tended to drive the Homeric population of south-eastern Thrace. Note also that the silence of Homer, not merely as to Pelasgians in Asia, but as to Thracians in what afterwards became Bithynia, and also the positive Homeric evidence as to the non-Pelasgian character of the population of Lemnos and Imbros, makes a very strong case for assuming that this Pelasgian occupation of Placie and Scylace results from the same post-Homeric movement.

A similar raid, by some of these same Pelasgians, reached as far as Attica, and effected a regular lodgment there for a time, *οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι.* The approximate date for this raid is given in the parallel passage in ii. 51: *Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι*: so that if it is possible to discover at what point in their history Herodotus thought that the Athenians 'were just beginning to count as Hellenes,' it will be possible to assign at all events a relative date for the time at which these Pelasgians 'came to be fellow-lodgers with them in their country.' This point however will be best reserved until we come to the question of the Pelasgians in Attica.[65]

(2) *In Lemnos and Imbros.* These Pelasgians also are post-Homeric intruders: for they expelled from Lemnos the Minyans,[66] who are still in possession there in Homer.[67] Moreover Herodotus fixes the date of the Minyan migration from Lemnos to Laconia in the same generation as the Dorian invasion of Peloponnese: for Theras was the brother of the wife of king Aristodemus.[68] These Pelasgians were still in the islands when they were annexed by Persia about 505,[69] and were also still in possession when Miltiades conquered them, not long before 493.[70] It has been argued from the phrase *ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκεομένας* in v. 26 and from the omission of Lemnos in the list of extant Pelasgians in i. 57 that these Pelasgians were extinct when Herodotus was writing; but he nowhere states that the Pelasgians were wholly expelled by Miltiades, and in i. 57 he clearly hints at the existence of *ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε*, as though there were people who still talked 'Pelasgic' and were known to be of Pelasgic origin, but no longer satisfied his other condition that they should have retained their proper tribal name; and this would clearly cover such a case as that of Lemnos under Athenian rule.[71]

[65] See below, § 12.

[66] iv. 145.

[67] *Il.* 7. 468. 23. 747, the latter a late passage.

[68] iv. 147.

[69] v. 26.

[70] vi. 136.

[71] Note that a 'Lemnian' who was in the Persian service in 480 B.C. (Hdt. viii. 11) counts as one *τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων.* He also bears a Greek name, Antidorus. If the Lemnian Pelasgians had not 'changed their name' he would presumably have been described as a 'Pelasgian.'

Now these Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros lie, like those of Placie and Scylace, right in sight of the territory of the Homeric Pelasgians; and kept up to the close of the fifth century a piratical connexion with the mainland: for their Persian administrator had to deal severely with them, *τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ σίνεσθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ὀπίσω ἀποκομιζόμενον*,[72] and from a base in Lemnos they would only have done this either in south-eastern Thrace, or in course of its transit over the straits.

The Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros were also concerned in early raids on Attica: for the 'Pelasgians under Hymettus' in Attica, made Lemnos, among other places, their retreat: *ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον*.[73] This connects them directly with the men of Placie and Scylace, whom we have already seen to be among those *οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι*. The raid on Brauron moreover is expressly stated to have been the work of these same Attic Pelasgians after they had left Attica and settled in Lemnos.[74]

(3) *In Samothrace*, Herodotus accounts for similar survivals by the same story. He is illustrating, by the *Καβείρων ὄργια* in Samothrace, an Attic cult which he believes to be of Pelasgic origin. This would not by itself prove that there were then, or ever had been, Pelasgians in Samothrace. But Herodotus goes on to explain, *τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρᾴκην οἴκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, οἵπερ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι*.[74a] The phrase about the *σύνοικοι* is identical, and the present tense of *παραλαμβάνουσι* suggests that in Herodotus' own time the fountain-head of Cabiric orthodoxy was an extant Pelasgian community.[75]

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[72] v. 27.

[73] vi. 137. The words are part of the citation, or summary, of Hecataeus, already mentioned at the end of § 7.

[74] A closely analogous case is that of the Dolopes in Scyros. Originally a mainland and inland people, as indeed the rest of them were still in the time of the Persian Wars (Hdt. iv. 132, 185), they entered Scyros in post-Homeric time, and retained their hold on the island until they were suppressed by Cimon, as the Lemnians had been by Miltiades. That the Dolopian occupation of Scyros was post-Homeric seems to follow from *Il.* 9. 668, where the island is raided and captured by Achilles, and from *Il.* 19. 326–32, *Od.* 11. 509, where it still forms part of his dominions. The case is here too exactly analogous with that of Lemnos, *Il.* 14. 230 and Imbros *Il.* 14. 281. For the further fate of these Scyrian Dolopes at the hands of the historians, see p. 221 below.

[74a] ii. 51.

[75] From the fact that in Roman times the Samothracian ritual still used *παλαιὰν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον* Diod. 5. 48. 2; cf. Lobeck, *Agl.* 1109, 1348), and that the cult itself was not then confined to Samothrace, but was observed elsewhere, not merely in Lemnos and Imbros, but in the Troad and on the Hellespont (Strabo 472–3), we may reasonably infer that here also, quite apart from theories, Herodotus is dealing with current verifiable observations of North Aegean cults, of the same kind as those which he quotes specifically for the cult of Heracles in Thasos. Demetrius of Scepsis, later on, had a theory of his own about Samothrace, which is quite independent of Herodotus, and at first sight quite different, but which on closer inspection seems to show that he had been led by similar data to a conclusion very similar to that reached by Herodotus about these North Aegean Pelasgians. Samothrace, he says (quoted by Strabo 472), was at first called *Μελίτη*: the name *Σαμοθρᾴκη* is its second name, and dates from the coming of the Cabiri, whom he seems to identify with the Curetes. Their cult he regards as *Phrygian*.

(4) *At Antandrus*, on the south-west angle of the Troad, Herodotus lets fall, unexplained, the epithet τὴν Πελασγίδα.[76] He does not assert that there were any Pelasgians resident there in Hellenic times; but the geographical position of Antandrus is such as to facilitate settlement there (as at Placie and Scylace) in the event of Thracian pressure on the country of the Homeric Pelasgians. That such pressure was felt, and that such settlements were made, is clear from a fourth-century account of a colony of European Edones, like those of the Bithynian coast, at Antandrus itself[77]; and that there was some non-Hellenic element at Antandrus much earlier than this, is clear from the phrase Λελέγων πόλις applied to it by Alcaeus.[78] We have seen already (p. 183) how closely the 'Lelegian theory,' of which this is one of the most northerly manifestations, replaces further south the 'Pelasgian theory' which prevails in the Hellespont and its neighbourhood.[79]

The probability that in the fifth century Antandrus was believed to be not merely non-Hellenic, but positively Pelasgian, in the sense that it held a population of South-east European origin and post-Homeric arrival, is increased by the fragment of Hellanicus which is quoted to explain the proverb Πιτάνη εἰμί. Φησὶ γὰρ (Hellanicus) αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι, καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ἐρυθραίων ἐλευθερωθῆναι.[80] Note that this proverb itself can be traced back as far as Alcaeus, and presumably the legend likewise, which in that case falls within the class of data accessible to Herodotus. No dates are given, but the incident must fall (*a*) not later than the time of Alcaeus; (*b*) hardly, if at all, earlier than the foundation of Erythrae in the time of the 'Ionic migration:' for the point of the proverb is that the disasters of Pitane are incessant; so there can have been no long interval between enslavement and liberation. We may therefore place the incident in post-Homeric, and probably in very early Hellenic, times; and we may class this hint of the presence of raiding Pelasgians in Aeolis alongside of the other evidence of the kind.[81]

(5) *Near Creston*, finally, on the mainland between Thrace and Macedon in the district which lies south-westward of the middle course of the Strymon, Herodotus alludes to τοῖς νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ

The name Σαμοθρᾴκη in any case looks as if it recorded an intrusion from the neighbouring European mainland, and it is instructive to find it suggested that it was a *Phrygian* cult which was intruded, and that its subject was a group of personages, who (like the Hellespontine Pelasgians of Homer) have so exact a counterpart in *Crete*.

[76] vii. 42. The phrase clearly denotes something peculiar to Antandrus, and not common to the Greeks of Aeolis. These latter are τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος (vii. 95), but this is Greek theory, not Herodotean observation, and is discussed in its proper place in § 11.

[77] Aristotle *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.*

[78] Strabo, 606.

[79] The positive statements of Konon *Narr.* 41 and Mela i. 18 that there were Pelasgians at Antandrus are only worth noting here as evidence of a later revival of the authority of Herodotus. Mela's version contains an anachronism and two pieces of thoroughly Graeco-Roman philology.

[80] Fr. 115 b = Zenob. v. 61.

[81] Pliny *N.H.* 5. 30. 32 and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* add *Cimmeris* to the already long list of ethnological epithets of Antandrus.

Thucydides on the other hand seems tacitly to put all this on one side as not-proven, when he specifies Antandrus merely as an Aeolian colony in viii. 108.

Τυρσηνῶν Κρήστωνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων.[82] They spoke a language which, though different from that of their neighbours, agreed with that of the Hellespontine Pelasgians at Placie and Scylace.

Much confusion has been wrought in recent commentary on this passage by the circumstance that Dionysius of Halicarnassus apparently read here Κροτῶνα for Κρήστωνα,[83] meaning thereby however not Croton in South Italy, but Cortona in Umbria, a reading which led him to use the passage as evidence for his own peculiar theory about the origin of the Etruscans. This reading however has been accepted and defended more than once recently, and notably by Prof. Eduard Meyer.[84]

Those who read Κροτῶνα however may fairly be asked to meet the following objections :—

(*a*) Though Herodotus mentions Umbria twice,[85] he uses it merely as a general geographical expression for northern Italy, and displays no familiarity either with the country or with its people. It is difficult therefore to believe that he ventured upon exact philological comparison between the speech of the people of Cortona and that of the Pelasgians on the Hellespont; and still more that there should be truth in it if he did. It is only on the popular *a priori* assumption that in a passage of Herodotus an absurdity is more likely to be the true reading, that the variant commends itself at all; and it is, in fact, for the purpose of discrediting Herodotus that the reading Κροτῶνα is commonly defended.

(*b*) On the other hand Herodotus shows himself particularly well informed about the districts inland of Chalcidice; and his descriptions of Lake Prasias and of the road from Paeonia into Macedon have all the look of eyewitness.[86]

(*c*) His association of Pelasgians with Τυρσηνοί and Κρηστωναῖοι is confirmed by the statement of Thucydides,[87] who had also special reasons for acquaintance with this neighbourhood. There are two discrepancies in detail, (1) that Thucydides is speaking of a mixed population σύμμικτα ἔθνη, nearer the sea-coast, and (2) that he speaks of it as consisting of βαρβάρων διγλώσσων. But they do not at all affect the conclusion that Thucydides either was independently acquainted with the same state of things, of which Herodotus describes the earlier and more inland counterpart, or was reading Κρήστωνα in the passage of Herodotus which is in question.[88] That such σύμμικτα ἔθνη should have come into existence nearer the seaboard, is exactly what we should expect as the result of successive thrusts from one northern intruder after another. That in the neighbourhood of the Chalcidic colonies

[82] i. 57.
[83] i. 29.
[84] E. Meyer, *Forschungen z. alt. Gesch* (Halle 1891) i. pp. 1-124.
[85] i. 94, iv. 49.
[86] v. 15-17.
[87] iv. 109.
[88] That he really knew the country, and that there was such a district—for even this has been denied latterly—is clear from his reference to Γρηστωνία in ii. 99.

the natives should have become bilingual, is again exactly what happens wherever two cultures meet: the mongrel population just beyond the Chalcidic 'pale' learnt Greek for use 'in town,' without forgetting their own language for communication with their friends in the interior.

(*d*) There is collateral evidence of community of population between this neighbourhood behind Chalcidice and those other districts in which an actual Pelasgian population is best demonstrable. (*a*) In the case of Lemnos, the Homeric Sinties,[89] though they do not appear to have survived there into historic times, have their counterparts in a Thracian tribe, known to Hellanicus,[90] which has its habitat fixed by Thucydides[91] as lying on the left flank of Sitalces' march from Thrace into Macedon, while Paeonia lay on his right. It has left its name, moreover, in that Heraclea Sintica, of which the site is fixed on the right or western bank of the middle Strymon, a little N. E. of the district of Creston.[92] (*β*) In the case of the Hellespontine area, Herodotus accepts without question a European origin for the Asiatic Phrygians (who had indeed but recently entered Asia in Homeric times) and compares them with the Macedonian Βρίγες.[93] He also locates Βρύγοι[94] between the Χαλκιδικὸν γένος and the Pieres (who lay east of the Strymon)[95] in a list which runs in an order which is quite intelligible geographically: that is to say, they lay somewhere between the Strymon and the promontory of Mt. Athos. This all agrees with the locality indicated with these Βρύγοι, whom he calls 'Thracians,' and who attacked the army of Mardonius, at a time when its escorting fleet was destroyed off Mt. Athos.[96] The bisection of the European Βρύγοι-Βρίγες is in turn paralleled by the duplication of the Pieres, some of whom are east of the Strymon,[97] while others, far west of it, are next neighbours of the Perrhaebians of Thessaly.[98]

Like the Βρύγοι, the Edoni of the lower Strymon, who are also one of the components of the σύμμικτα ἔθνη of Thucydides,[99] have their Asiatic counterparts, as we have seen at Antandrus in the fourth century epithet Ἠδωνίς, where Herodotus had written τὴν Πελασγίδα. The Mygdones, also, who for Herodotus[100] and Thucydides[101] inhabit a district of Macedon next west of Creston, north-west of Chalcidice, and east of the Axius, and survived in Strabo's time as a subdivision of the Edones near lake Prasias,[102] had however by that time almost vanished out of Europe, and were best studied, like the Pelasgians of Herodotus, on the south shore of Propontis next east of the Doliones. For Strabo, they are thus immigrants from Europe, and of the same character as the Phrygians, the Mysians, and the Doliones themselves.[103] Here, again, no theory is in question: it is simply

[89] *Il.* i. 594, *Od.* viii. 294.
[90] Fr. 112.
[91] ii. 98.
[92] The Γρηστωνία of Thuc. ii. 99. In Roman times there were traces of Σαντοί on *both* banks of the Strymon: Strabo 331.
[93] vii. 73.
[94] vii. 185.
[95] vii. 112-3.
[96] vi. 45.
[97] vii. 112.
[98] vii. 131. Cf. 177.
[99] iv. 109.
[100] vii. 123-4, 127.
[101] ii. 99-100.
[102] Strabo, fr. 11.
[103] Strabo, 566, 575, 736, 747.

a question, how much collateral evidence exists to support an observation of fact on the part of Herodotus, that a split tribe could inhabit Placie, Scylace, and the Strymon valley without appreciable damage to its common speech.

(*c*) The circumstance that Herodotus mentions a Κρήστωνα πόλιν has been criticized in view of Thucydides' statement that his σύμμικτα ἔθνη lived κατὰ μικρὰ πολίσματα.[104] But first, Thucydides' statement refers not to the people of the district of Creston but to the σύμμικτα ἔθνη of the coast-land further south; secondly, it would be difficult to prove, even if it did refer to Krestonia, that some one or other of these πολίσματα was not called Κρήστων; thirdly, that there was such a πόλις in later times is stated positively by Stephanus (s. v.) and an appropriate site for it exists at the modern settlement of Kilidj.

So far as we have gone, all the Herodotean evidence goes straight back to the denotative usage in Homer, which makes the Pelasgians a specific North Aegean people. Only, for Herodotus, instead of being located on the mainland (with a single offshoot in Crete), they are projected into the North Aegean islands, and onto the Hellespontine shore of Asia: exactly as the known stresses of the post-Homeric age would have led us to guess would be the case.[105] These 'actual' Pelasgians of Herodotus, moreover, retained still in his time a linguistic character which marks them as having issued, at an earlier stage still, from a centre of dispersal sufficiently far back in the Thracian mainland to permit similar projection of one band of them into the basin of the Strymon; and so puts their case on all fours with that of the Herodotean Phrygians. Whether all this observation was accurately made, is beside the question here, and is not conclusively proved even by its consistency within itself. All that we are concerned with, here, is that such observations were not only possible in the time of Herodotus, but are recorded by him as having been made. It is equally beside the question, whether they are consistent or not with his general 'Pelasgic Theory,' which must engage attention next.

§ 11.—*Herodotus*: (*c*) *his general Pelasgic Theory.*

If we look now to his connotative use of the name 'Pelasgian,' we shall find that Herodotus holds a well-defined 'Pelasgic Theory' of the ethnology of Greece. Once upon a time all that is now called Hellas was called 'Pelasgia' and was inhabited by Pelasgians.[105a] These, in the majority of cases, have become Hellenized gradually; and the crucial test of Hellenization is the change of language from 'Pelasgian' to Hellenic.[105b] Herodotus admits however that it is only by the study of the speech of the 'actual' Pelasgians discussed in the last section, that any idea can be formed of what 'Pelasgian speech' was like.

[104] Hdt. i. 57. Thuc. iv. 109.

[105] For indications of such a movement even within the Homeric age see p. 184 above.

[105a] i. 56–7, ii. 52–56.

[105b] i. 57.

Of this metamorphosis of theoretical pre-Hellenic Pelasgian into actual historic Hellene, Herodotus quotes particular instances in several districts of Greece. Let us take these districts in geographical order from north to south.

(1) *At Dodona*, though Herodotus does not definitely assert that there were ever any Pelasgian residents, he states that the oracle was consulted by 'the Pelasgians' in primitive times.[105c] He had learned also, apparently on Dodonaean authority, the theory that in early times 'the Pelasgians' knew no names for their gods, and only acquired names later, and from abroad. Now there is nothing in all this which is not obvious 'by inspection' to any one who has before him (1) the Homeric phrase about Dodonaean Zeus, (2) the Hesiodic description of Dodona as Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον, and (3) the Herodotean observation that 'actual' Pelasgians talked a language different from Greek. The reasoning may be formulated as follows. Even without Hesiodic commentary it might well seem likely to any fifth century Hellene with a 'Pelasgian Theory,' that the Homeric epithet Πελασγικέ meant 'god of Pelasgians,' *i.e.* of the Pelasgian inhabitants of Dodona. If so, Pelasgians at Dodona, or their descendants, were calling the god of Dodona 'Zeus.' But 'Zeus' is the *Greek* name for the god of Dodona; and as the Pelasgian language is *ex hypothesi* different from Greek, the word for 'Zeus' in Pelasgic must have been different, if there was one. But was there a word for Zeus in Pelasgic? Enquiry at Dodona, possibly elsewhere, reveals none; all the βάρβαροι δίγλωσσοι, who are within hail, call Zeus 'Zeus' and nothing else. Yet Achilles addresses Zeus as Πελασγικέ, 'god of Pelasgians:' he was worshipped therefore by them in their unconverted 'Pelasgian' days. In those days therefore Zeus of Dodona was worshipped as a nameless god, and is now called Zeus, only because 'Zeus' is the Greek name for him. *Q.E.D.*

(2) *In Thessaly*, though Herodotus does not state that there were Pelasgians there, it is possible that he is assuming their presence when he describes the Aeolian Hellenes of north-west Asia Minor as τὸ πάλαι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος.[105d] The qualifying phrase characterizes this attribution of Pelasgian origin as a matter of current Greek belief, and as something quite distinct from the 'Pelasgian' peculiarities of Antandrus—whatever they were—as has been noted already in § 10 above. This current Greek belief must mean that these Aeolians represent either Pelasgians domiciled in Aeolis and Hellenized *in situ*, or Pelasgians formerly domiciled in Thessaly, and Hellenized there before their migration to Asia Minor. In the former alternative, the phrase goes far to explain his phrase Ἄνταν δρον τὴν Πελασγίδα, but at the same time makes it difficult to see in what peculiar sense Antandrus was worth calling 'Pelasgian.' In the latter, Herodotus would seem once more to be putting his own interpretation on the Homeric phrase τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος which (as we have seen) was, by

[105c] ii. 50-52. [105d] vii. 95.

the time of Hellanicus, (1) extended so as to include Thessaly in general, and (2) confused with Pelasgiotis and with the country round Larisa, with which in the Homeric Catalogue it is clearly contrasted.[105c] In any case, the phrase of Herodotus about the Asiatic Aeolians is either fair commentary on the trans-Hellespontine thrust of Priam's Pelasgians, or else a not-unnatural interpretation of the phrase τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος. Here also therefore we may regard Herodotus as going back to Homeric authority, and as admitting current Greek belief only so far as it seemed to conform to Homeric data.

(3) *In Attica*, Herodotus describes the aboriginal population as a Pelasgian tribe, the Κραναοί.[106] Here we have a fresh feature: a Pelasgian *genus* subdivided into *species* with tribal names. There is no Homeric authority either for Pelasgians or for Cranaans in Attica, nor for any of the regions which follow, further south; so that here we are free to regard Herodotus as summarizing contemporary theory, and perhaps even improving on it.

These Cranaan Pelasgians of Attica went through, not one, but several metamorphoses,[107] before they won their way to Hellenism as 'Ionians,' in the time of Ion, son of Xuthus; but they had made their first step as early as the days of Cecrops. Further proof that the Pelasgians of Attica were Hellenic already at the time of the Ionic migration is given when (in recounting the origin of the Ionians of Asia Minor,[108] whom Herodotus believed to have come immediately, though not ultimately, from Attica) the only Pelasgian admixture which he mentions, in that very mongrel crew, takes the form, not of Attic but of Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί. The *quondam* Pelasgians of Attica were therefore no longer Pelasgic when the Ionic colonies were to be founded.

The passages about Pelasgians in Attica, however, present difficulties of their own which entitle them to separate discussion later on (§ 12). For the moment it is sufficient to have discovered (1) that 'Pelasgian' for Herodotus is a *genus* including tribal *species*; (2) that the process of Hellenization was in some cases capable of analysis, and approximately datable; (3) that the crucial event in this process was for Herodotus, as for Hellanicus and for Thucydides, the arrival in the country of some genuine 'son of Hellen.'

(4) *In North Peloponnese*, from Sicyon westward, there once lived a people who were *Pelasgians* generically, with the specific tribal name of Αἰγιαλεῖς.[109] These, like the Pelasgian Κραναοί of Attica, became Hellenized by means of Ion, son of Xuthus; and then, as fully Hellenized 'Ionians,' migrated into Attica, and thence again to the Asiatic Ionia.

(5) *In the Cyclades* the islanders are, for Herodotus, καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν

[105c] See p. 179 and 188.
[106] vii. 94.
[107] viii. 44.
[108] i. 146.
[109] vii. 94.

ἔθνος: but the context[109a] does not show whether he means Pelasgian aborigines, Hellenized *in situ*, or a branch (like their reputed kinsmen, the Ionians of Asia Minor) of the Ionized Pelasgians of North Peloponnese.[110]

(6) *In the Peloponnesian Argos*, Herodotus describes a population, autochthonous and Pelasgian, as receiving from immigrant Danaids the rite which the Greeks call *thesmophoria*. The natives in this case had neither the name nor the thing. Elsewhere he quotes Danaus (though he was not 'a son of Hellen') side by side with Xuthus, as one of those whose coming marked the crisis before which the people of all North Peloponnese ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλεῖς. Another point of theory emerges here. Hellenism in the sense of the operation of a 'son of Hellen' is not the only form of enlightenment. Danaus from Egypt can 'Hellenize' in a generic sense: at all events his arrival troubles the Pelasgian waters with the movement of a new spirit. Have we perhaps here a reminiscence of the phase, which we conjectured earlier,[111] when Danaus competed with Hellen for eponymous rank in Greece?

Meanwhile it is clear that though Herodotus may perhaps have shared with his contemporaries the current misconception as to the Pelasgian claims of the Peloponnesian Argos, there is no evidence that for him this district stood in any such special relation to Pelasgian antiquity as had been assumed recently by the genealogists.

(7) *In Arcadia* there were Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί,—again apparently a specific sub-division of a Pelasgian *genus*,—who took part in the colonization of Ionia.[112] The Arcadians also were regarded by Herodotus as the sole survivors[113] of the aboriginal population of Peloponnese; and this aboriginal population was apparently continuous with that of 'Pelasgian' Argos. On the other hand, in his formal survey of Peloponnesian ethnology,[114] though he classes the Cynurians with the Arcadians as autochthonous, he omits to call either of them Pelasgians. We cannot say therefore that there is in Herodotus any preferential treatment of Arcadia as a source, or habitation, of Pelasgians.

(8) *In Cynuria* the same remark applies. Though autochthonous, the Cynurians are not called Pelasgians: their pedigree is taken only so far back as to describe them as 'apparently Ionians,' who have however since 'become thoroughly Dorized.'[115] Here we get a fresh point of Herodotean theory. Hellenism, like Pelasgism, is a *genus* which includes diverse *species*. 'Ionian' Hellenism is one type, 'Dorian' Hellenism is

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[109a] As in the case of Asiatic Aeolis (2) above.

[110] If there were any *early* evidence for the legends of Thracians in Naxos and other Cycladic islands, it would be tempting to regard this ascription of 'Pelasgian' origin as a hint of raids of Hellespontine Pelasgians like those which we have detected already as far afield as Crete and Attica. But in default of such early evidence, this tempting guess remains unverifiable.

[111] p. 181. above.

[112] i. 46.

[113] ii. 171.

[114] viii. 73.

[115] viii. 73.

another: and it is possible for *αὐτόχθονες* to undergo conversion, not merely from outer darkness to any one of these types of enlightenment, but from any one sect to another. The latter process, like the former, is a long one: *ἐκδεδωρίευνται δέ*, he can say of the 'Ionian' Cynurians, *ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου.*

§ 12.—*Herodotus: (d) the Pelasgians in Attica.*

Between the statements of what I have called 'Pelasgian theory' in Herodotus, and his accounts of Pelasgian tribes either actual, or only recently extinct, lies one group of passages which has caused some perplexity, but seems to me susceptible of simple and instructive explanation. The people of Attica, as we have seen in § 11, are for Herodotus autochthonous Pelasgians, who 'became Ionian' and so entered the Hellenic family, in the days of Ion son of Xuthos.[116] On the other hand, just at this very phase *Ἀθηναίοισι ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι, Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ*:[117] and by the side of these Pelasgian 'country cousins,' the autochthonous Attic Pelasgians really seemed quite civilized, *ὅθεν καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι.* Of these intrusive and relatively recent Pelasgians, Herodotus gives further particulars, partly on the authority of Hecataeus, partly from local Attic tradition.

(1) He quotes Hecataeus to the effect that it was these Pelasgians who built for the Athenians the wall round the Acropolis. This reveals, as one element in the story, an aetiological myth about the so-called Pelasgic Wall, which was still defensible in the days of the Peisistratidae and may be identified with some certainty as that Mycenaean fortress-wall of which remnants are still to be seen. Of the open space below this wall, which Thucydides knows as *τὸ Πελασγικόν*, neither Herodotus nor Hecataeus has anything to say.

(2) He quotes Hecataeus further to the effect that these Pelasgian wall-builders were allowed to *settle* in the country *ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσόν*, that is, as the story shows, between Hymettus, the Ilissus, and the Saronic gulf. This repeats (what we already know) that these Pelasgians are not autochthonous in Attica, but recent immigrants; and it takes this belief as far back as Hecataeus.

(3) Eventually these Pelasgians misbehaved, and were expelled; and went and occupied *ἄλλα τε . . . χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον.*[118] This also comes from Hecataeus, and consequently goes back to a contemporary of the conquest of actual Pelasgians in Lemnos by Otanes, between 510 and 500 B.C.; and also of their conquest by Miltiades, which belongs to the same generation.[119]

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[116] viii. 44.
[117] ii. 51.
[118] vi. 137.
[119] v. 26. (Otanes): vi. 136–140 (Miltiades).

(4) Local Attic tradition added this,[120] that after settling in Lemnos, some of these Pelasgians returned and raided Brauron on the east coast of Attica; and that they did this *εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὁρτάς*, presumably therefore within the lifetime of those who had been themselves expelled from Attica.

(5) The Pelasgian occupation of Lemnos is assigned by Herodotus to an ascertainable date. In Homer, as we have seen,[121] the Minyans have not yet been expelled from the island. They were however expelled, according to Herodotus,[122] in the third generation of the Argonautic occupation; that is, in the generation after the Trojan war, for Euneus, who is king of Lemnos in Homer, is the son of Jason, who occupied the island. But here there is a slight hitch in the story. The local Attic tradition, as we have seen, attributed the raid on Brauron to Pelasgians who were *οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι*; in which case the raid was subsequent to the occupation of Lemnos. But in telling the story of the Minyans, Herodotus says that they were expelled by Pelasgians *τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος λησαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας*. It is possible that he merely adds this detail for the sake of identification, and without intending to say that they had already raided Brauron; but at first sight it certainly looks as if he meant to put the raid *before* not *after* the occupation. And there is this further evidence in the same direction. The rest of the story of the Minyans dates their eventual arrival in Laconia within the generation (*τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον*)[123] of Theras, great-great-grandson of Polyneices of Thebes, and brother-in-law of Aristodemus, about the time of whose death the Dorians conquered Laconia; and this entry was fully two generations after the Trojan War. Either therefore we must allow the best part of a generation for the 'exodus' or '*νόστος*' of the Minyans, or else there must be a misfit of one generation in the chronology; and in the latter event it may well be the reason why there is ambiguity as to sequence of the occupation of Lemnos and the raid on Brauron. But there is no serious inconsistency; and though the whole story comes to us from two, or more probably three, independent authorities,—Hecataeus, local Attic, and perhaps local Laconian tradition,—we are in a position now to fit it all together as a single series of events, of brief duration and approximately ascertainable date; for it falls in any event within a generation of the Dorian invasion of Peloponnese.

According to Herodotus therefore—and I do not claim at present any earlier authority for this version,—once upon a time there were Pelasgians in Attica, in the same sense as there were Pelasgians everywhere in Greece in pre-Hellenic days. Just as these Attic Pelasgians were beginning to 'count as Hellenes,' in the days of Ion son of Xuthus,[124] Attica was invaded by quite a different sort of Pelasgians, of the Hellespontine variety who survived at Placie, Scylace, Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace. His repeated phrase

[120] vi. 138.
[121] *Il.* 14. 230 and § 2 above.
[122] iv. 145.
[123] iv. 147.
[124] viii 44.

οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι can hardly mean anything else than that this Hellespontine type of Pelasgians is the source of the invaders of Attica; though no doubt, as in the case of Lemnos, Pelasgians ejected from Attica retreated in a direction where there were settlements of their own countrymen. As we have fifth century authority for the contemporary existence of Ion son of Xuthus and of Theseus, and as Theseus was himself an Argonaut, we can assign the invasion of Attica by Hellespontine Pelasgians to the generation of the Argonauts approximately; and as their expulsion from Attica occurred not earlier than the first generation after the Trojan War (*i.e.* the third of the Argonautic occupation of Lemnos) and not later than the second, we can give to it a duration of about three generations, and an approximate date within the fifty years which preceded the Dorian invasion. Within these fifty years falls the raid on Brauron, a second attempt of Hellespontine Pelasgians to get a footing in Attica; but whether of fresh Pelasgians from Hellespont, or of ex-Attic Pelasgians from Lemnos, remains in doubt. Within these two post-Trojan generations fall also the Pelasgian occupation of Placie and Scylace (in a neighbourhood which, for the *Catalogue*, is not Pelasgian) and probably also the settlements in Imbros, Samothrace, and the like: for Imbros also has no Pelasgians in Homer, though it had already, as we have seen, a Sintian population, which to fifth century eyes [125] must have seemed to be of mainland origin.

Now we have seen already that the department in which Herodotus seems to have struck out a new line of Pelasgian enquiry is in the collection of evidence of the survival of actual Pelasgians in the North Aegean, round the fringe, so to speak, of the Homeric Pelasgians of king Priam; and I do not think that we are unduly straining the sense of the passages which deal with the Pelasgian invaders of Attica, if we regard these also as a contribution to the same enquiry.

That Herodotus regarded some part of the population of the promontory of Attica as still of non-Attic origin, is suggested further by the terms of his comparison between Attica and Scythia. In this comparison, when once allowance has been made for the geographical conceptions of the fifth century,[126] all the other features quoted are markedly apposite; and when he goes on to say *καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, κτλ.*, it is difficult not to believe that, although he does not mention them, he has the vision of non-Attic Pelasgians in his mind. It may indeed have been common knowledge in his time that these predatory Pelasgians had had a footing about Sunium, as well as 'under Hymettus.'

The Herodotean phase of the 'Pelasgian Theory' may therefore be summarized as follows. The logographers have done their work: they have multiplied Pelasgian origins to such an extent that it is possible already to generalize. All Greece, in fact, was 'Pelasgian' once, and the large majority

[125] Thuc. 2. 98.

[126] See my paper 'On the Maps used by Herodotus' in the *Geographical Journal*, viii. 1896. pp. 605 ff.

of actual Hellenes are by descent Pelasgians, Hellenized. But 'Pelasgian' has now ceased to be a race-name, and means the pre-Hellenic phase of divers tribes whose proper names are known. There is even the beginning of a tentative and unformulated theory of how Hellenization is effected. In the light of this Pelasgian generalization, and of the new 'Hellenic Theory' which is its corollary, the special claims of Dodona, Thessaly, Arcadia, and the Peloponnesian Argos, are seen to fade away. Attica, on the other hand, begins to rise to new prominence in the story;[127] due partly to the recent active contact between Peisistratid Attica and the 'actual' Pelasgians of Lemnos; partly to the contemporary desire to find some historical explanation of the rapid rise and peculiar characteristics of the Attic State since Cleisthenes;[128] but partly also to the increased importance which the fifth century is coming to attribute to the evidence of cultural survivals, in comparison with that of place-names or of literary or oral tradition. Philology and Genealogy, in fact, are rapidly giving place to Anthropology as the instrument of historical research. And anthropology while it has nothing to say of Thessaly, and can prove only foreign influences in Arcadia, has already detected numerous cases of survival in the neighbourhood of the Homeric Pelasgians on the Hellespont, together with a true cause for their actual distribution. And when we come next to consider the attitude of Thucydides to the question, we shall find the same tendency predominant.

§ 13.—*Thucydides.*

From Thucydides, with his extraordinary concentration upon those aspects of history which he regards as his proper concern, we should not naturally expect much light on questions of ethnography. It is therefore the more instructive to find that on the rare occasions on which he does digress into such matters, his knowledge and his beliefs not only agree in general with normal fifth century views as we find them in Herodotus, but also, where they diverge from these at all, do so in directions which foreshadow exactly the principal new departures which are to characterize the speculations of the fourth century. In this, in fact, as in much else, Thucydides stands just at the parting of the ways.

A. First, as to *actual Pelasgians.* Thucydides gives an account of the natives of Mount Athos,[129] the substance of which we have already noted in discussing the evidence of Herodotus. Its main points are as follows:—

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[127] In Attica also, alone, do we find the 'theoretical' and the 'actual' or rather the 'historical' Pelasgian side by side in the same context, contrasted as Hellenizable Attic aborigines against savage Hellespontine intruders.

[128] In an earlier essay (*J.H.S.* xxvii. 84 ff.) I have collected some evidence for the view that a similar demand of the Periclean Age to know δι' ἣν αἰτίην there was a Delian League, was producing very similar effects in a reasoned retrospect of Mediterranean sea-power.

[129] iv. 109, see p. 196 above.

(1) The promontory, as its physical position would suggest, was a *sentina gentium*. Its population included waifs from all the principal native stocks of the adjacent mainland: Edones from beyond the Strymon, Bisaltae and men of Creston from between Strymon and Axius, and Pelasgians *τῶν καὶ Λῆμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων*: a phrase which sums up all the main features of the Herodotean diagnosis of 'actual Pelasgians' in the North Aegean, except that he makes no mention of their kinsmen on the Hellespont.

(2) The mention of Creston, as we have seen already, is important confirmation of the manuscript reading of Herodotus i. 57.

(3) These people are *σύμμικτα ἔθνη βαρβάρων διγλώσσων*. If *βαρβάρων*, one of their languages was non-Hellenic. What their 'second language' was, is not stated; but we may fairly infer that it was Greek: for though 'barbarian,' these people are in the heart of Chalcidice; and, as Thucydides says, *καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἔνι βραχύ*. For the rest, they presumably retained each his own native dialect; that is to say, the Pelasgians among them still talked Pelasgic, exactly as Herodotus says of their namesakes up-country.

(4) Though Herodotus does not actually say that Pelasgians of the district of Creston were among the colonizers of Attica, he does say so of the Hellespontine Pelasgians; and these he connects with those of Creston by the significant tie of a common dialect. In Thucydides, either we have additional evidence for this identification, coming from a fresh quarter, and from a writer who had peculiar opportunities for enquiring locally: or we have a fresh inference from the data supplied by Herodotus, in which case we must infer that these data were accepted by Thucydides as trustworthy so far as they went. The importance of this latter point is obvious, in view of the captious attitude which Thucydides usually adopts in dealing with his predecessors; and, no less, in view of modern attempts to show that Herodotus in this passage is describing Cortona in Italy!

(5) Thucydides has also one small piece of confirmatory evidence in regard to the general view of North Aegean ethnology, the history of which we are tracing. It is he who is our earliest authority for the existence of those *Σίντοι* in Thrace, whom we have already had occasion to compare[130] with the Homeric *Σίντιες* of Lemnos. Here also the strength of the evidence lies in Thucydides' special facilities for exact knowledge of *τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*; and, with this admitted, the significance of the reference, in Herodotus vii. 223, to a town *Σίνδος* near Therma, becomes obvious at once.

B. The *Pelasgian Theory* of early Greece, which is found in Thucydides, presupposes that of Herodotus, but differs from it in details, which all mark advances in historical method.[131]

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[130] ii. 98, cf. p. 184 above.

[131] i. 3.

(1) Thucydides recognizes that the 'theoretical' Pelasgians have their name from some single tribe, which really was called Pelasgian, but did not constitute the whole or even the majority of the pre-Hellenic population of Greece; *ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι.* We may fairly infer from this that since the time of Herodotus a still wider induction has been attempted, based upon data derived from those parts of the Greek world where the pre-Hellenic population had been previously labelled Carian, Lelegian, Caucon, and the like, as well as from those where it had been labelled Pelasgic.

(2) The Pelasgic name has consequently acquired for Thucydides a definite generic and connotative value, which is distinct from its specific and denotative use as in iv. 109. For the first time, that is, a Greek historical writer is using a Pelasgian hypothesis *consciously*, with the knowledge that it is a hypothesis, and not a summary of observed or reported facts.

(3) Whereas Herodotus rests content with a view of the process of Hellenization which is expressed intransitively[132] and assumes a kind of spontaneous generation[133]—'spec's I growed' as Topsy said—Thucydides is conscious that *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* has arisen by actual contact of 'Pelasgian' non-Hellenes with a body, however small, of genuine and actual *Ἕλληνες* who had the higher culture, and so were 'of use' to their neighbours. Of course the discovery that Hellenism spreads by contagion only puts the problem one stage further back: for the obvious question is now, how to account for the real Hellenes. But it is a clear advance to have formulated the view that culture does thus come by contagion, *καθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας*; that it is quality which tells, not quantity; that 'a little leaven' may work 'until the whole is leavened'; and that, like the Pelasgians, the Hellenes have come to have their name used in a connotative as well as in a denotative sense; of which indeed we have seen the vague beginnings already, in Herodotus' use of Danaus side by side with Xuthus. But we find no express formulation of it till Thucydides puts 'Danaans,' 'Argives,' and 'Achaeans' as equivalent Homeric names for those 'men of Phthia' *οἵπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἕλληνες ἦσαν.*

(4) Thucydides makes no doubt that the real Hellenes first became appreciable in Phthiotis. What then becomes, for him, of the view which we have seen growing up in post-Homeric times that *τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* was a hotbed of Pelasgi? Surely here if anywhere the Hellenic 'leaven' must have 'worked' early and effectually. The process of Hellenization was gradual and lengthy, as he admits; *οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου ἠδύνατο καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι*: but missionary enterprise, like charity, surely begins at home.

[132] *τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε . . . τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε* i. 57. *τὸ Ἑλλ. ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ* i. 58: *ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλλ.* i. 60.

[133] Though even Herodotus associates in some cases the crisis of Hellenization with a 'child of Hellen' such as Xuthus.

§ 14.—*The Comparative Method, in Thucydides and in the Early Fourth Century.*

In a neighbouring passage[134] Thucydides formulates—also, I believe for the first time in literature—the 'comparative method' of ethnological enquiry. *Ceteris paribus*, he argues, it is permissible to infer from the present state of a backward people to a previous state of an advanced people. It is possible therefore to plot out, in a series, all known varieties of 'Hellene,' from the most cultured to the least; and as Hellenism, for Thucydides, stands for the highest form of culture, the most cultured will be the most truly Hellenic, and the least cultured will show the most purely Pelasgian survival.

We, who have passed more recently through a similar phase of method, know only too well the corollary which a looser logic may allow to be drawn from such a series. Granting, as everyone did grant, including Thucydides, that early Greece had been the scene of intense 'distress of nations' and long continued *μεταναστάσεις*, it was only too easy to confuse *cultural* with *geographical* advance; and to argue (as the students of 'Aryan languages' argued repeatedly in the last century) as if those Greeks who had 'progressed least' in culture had therefore 'advanced least' from a geographical focus of dispersion. Now if the zero of advancement is the 'Pelasgian' stage of culture, the starting point of Greek *μετανάστασις* ought to be the 'Pelasgian Home,' to adapt a familiar expression. Thus all that was necessary, in order to discover inductively the Pelasgian Home, was to arrange all Greeks in their *cultural* order, and see whereabouts *on the map* the most backward of them were to be found.[134a]

Now in the early fourth century, the answer to this question was easy; and it was threefold. (1) Only one people in nearer Greece (apart from districts like Messenia and Thessaly which had neither shaken off nor absorbed their 'conquerors' since the late *μεταναστάσεις*) had failed to adopt in full that *πόλις*-system which alone—so Thucydides, and Euripides, and Plato thought—could produce or sustain Hellenic Man: only one people in all Peloponnese answered to Thucydides' description of his 'actual' Pelasgians, *κατὰ δὲ μικρὰ πολίσματα οἰκοῦσιν*:[135] only one area had so far ignored the trend of Hellenism as to permit its sons, in that clash of principles which was *ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν πρίν*, to fight for either side indifferently:[136] and that was Arcadia and the Arcadians.

(2) On a broad review of the culture of Greece, the full Hellenism of Athens and the Ionian 'colonies,' of Corinth, of Argos, and of Delphi, might be

[134] i. 6.

[134a] A very similar fallacy confounds advance in *culture* with progress in *time*. Ephorus is a conspicuous instance (Fr. 6 = Diod. Sic. 1. 9) *περὶ πρώτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων διέξιμεν, οὐκ ἀρχαιοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καθάπερ Ἔφορος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ προδιελθεῖν βουλόμενοι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν περὶ αὐτούς.* To this frame of mind belongs also the Ephoran theory of the longevity of 'primitive' men (Fr. 24 = Plin. *N.H.* 7. 48) '*Ephorus (ait) Arcadum reges CCC annos vixisse.*'

[135] iv. 109.

[136] vii. 57.

figured as fading away gradually north-westward, into a region where, first, as Thucydides well knew, πόλεις gave place to a life κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους in Aetolia, and where even hoplite armour was unknown, as in Locris;[137] where, next, Hellenic speech became blundered and confused, so that Demosthenes' army had need of interpreters,[138] and he could trust to his Messenians being taken for Peloponnesians by their accent; where, further afield, Peloponnesian troops feared massacre ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλόχων;[139] and where, behind all, and on the extreme edge of the Hellenic world, lay the rude ritual, and the immemorial age, of the oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

(3) On a still broader view of the civilized world, the march of culture was still more clearly seen to be westward. Danaus,[140] Pelops,[141] and Cadmus[142] had brought 'light from the East' to Hellenic lands; 'Hellen and his sons'[143] had spread their own light not only to Dodona, but also to Magna Graecia and to Sicily. But round these western outposts also lay a penumbra of barbarism, and beyond, a great expanse of peoples who, like the 'theoretical' Pelasgians of Greece,[144] ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ ὠφελίᾳ, καθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον were becoming severally confronted with Hellenic culture, whose receptivity of things Hellenic was remarkable, whose cults and legends bore strong resemblance to the ruder phases of Hellenic religion: who continued to practise a 'Lesbian rule' in their architecture, which recalled the primaeval citadels and terrace-walls—the Πελασγικὰ τείχη—of old Greece; and whose coasts were still infested by the lawless pirates whose name in the Aegean was already thrice associated with the Pelasgian,[145] and who had made the Lower Sea 'Tyrrhenian' for good and all. Italy and the West were rapidly being involved in an enlarged Pelasgian Theory.[145a]

What precedes is, I believe, legitimate inference as to the probable course of speculation, from the position taken up by Herodotus, along the lines which are suggested by the indications of advancing method in Thucydides; and it accords with the actual extensions which Pelasgian theory received during the next generation. A crucial instance will make the situation clearer.

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[137] iii. 94, 96, cf. 112 (Amphilochia).

[138] The Ophionès and Eurytanes were ἀγνωστότατοι γλῶσσαν. καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγεται. Thuc. iii. 94. The Messenians he describes as Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν ἱέντας καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους. iii. 112.

[139] iii. 112. Of these same Amphilochians 'Hellenization' is predicated for the first time I think in Greek literature in the definitely linguistic sense: καὶ ἑλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν.

[140] Hdt. ii. 98, 171, 182, vii. 94.

[141] Hdt. vii. 8, 11.

[142] Hdt. ii. 44–49, iv. 147, v. 57–8.

[143] Hdt. i. 56, 60. Thuc. i. 3.

[144] Thuc. i. 3.

[145] Hdt i. 57. Soph. Fr. 256. Thuc. iv. 109.

[145a] The first traces of this lie very far back. As early as Pherecydes (if it be the fifth century author of that name) Peucetius and Oenotrus already count as children of Arcadian Lycaon.

§ 15.—*Ephorus.*

If there is one writer who represents for us the characteristics, good or bad, which distinguish fourth century historians from fifth, it is Ephorus of Cumae. The pupil of Isocrates, he was brought up in the laxest sect of the ῥήτορες; and the fragments which we have of his work show how industriously he improved on the historical method of his master. Not only was his work on the early age of Greece the first and the most copious of the fourth century redactions, but it has been shown by more than one modern writer practically to have held the field until far on into the Alexandrine Age; to have been a standard book of reference for Polybius, and to have supplied Diodorus with almost the whole framework of his history for this period. Strabo, too, quotes him repeatedly on points of early ethnology.

It is from Strabo that we learn, among other points, that Ephorus had a Pelasgian theory of his own. In the well-known passage[146] in which Strabo summarizes the views which had been held by Greek writers on this matter, a large proportion of the more important data are assigned to Ephorus by name; and the whole of the Homeric evidence is marshalled in a form which makes it highly probable that we have here an abridgement of Ephoran commentary: for phrases characteristic of the Ephoran theory recur, as we shall see, throughout it. This theory of Ephorus may be summed up in a sentence. *The Pelasgians originated in Arcadia and nowhere else; and spread from thence, all over Greece and beyond, as military conquerors and colonists, at a period which can be dated approximately.*

Strabo says that Ephorus got this idea from Hesiod; and quotes the actual passage.[147] Now we have seen already that this is the only evidence preserved to us, down to the end of the sixth century, which expressly connects Pelasgians with Arcadia; that it gives an eponymous Pelasgus; that it not merely introduces a factor which is out of accord with the Homeric data, but had already set people thinking how to explain and justify a Pelasgian Arcadia; and that it had thus been the source of the temptation to transfer the phrase Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος from the Thessalian to the Peloponnesian Argos, with the disastrous results which we have seen.

The 'Arcadian theory' of Ephorus is introduced, in fact, in contrast to what Strabo regards as the popular theory (ὁμολογοῦσι ἅπαντες σχεδόν τι) which made the Pelasgians ἀρχαῖόν τι φῦλον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπιπολάσαν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν. This theory, as we have seen, was current from the end of the sixth century to the days of Herodotus, and was based partly on an imaginative interpretation of the language of the Catalogue, partly on the discovery of the place-name Πελασγιῶτις. But it sank into very minor

[146] Strabo, 221.

[147] Fr. 68, in which Pelasgus is the father of Lycaon: see p. 186 above.

importance in Herodotus and Thucydides, who both tend to regard Thessaly as the starting point rather of Hellenes than of Pelasgians. We must infer however from Strabo's words, that after the eclipse of Herodotean history this 'Thessalian theory' revived; and this is indeed abundantly clear from the writers of the period between Ephorus and Strabo himself. We may fairly infer, meanwhile, that Ephorus did *not* hold this theory, or regard the Pelasgians as the generic aborigines of Greece; and that in particular he opposed the 'current view' that either the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος, or the Πελασγιῶτις, or the Λάρισα of Thessaly were among their primary abodes.

Next, Strabo's argument treats the Homeric passages similarly, but more explicitly: καὶ γὰρ τῆς Κρήτης ἔποικοι γεγόνασιν, ὥς φασιν Ὅμηρος, quoting *Odyssey* 19. 177 ff. But Homer does not say that the Pelasgians of Crete ἔποικοι γεγόνασιν, and though, as we have seen, it is very probable that they did 'come to reside in addition to' its other inhabitants,—*fas est et ab hoste doceri*—the *Odyssey* gives no direct support to this view. The phrase ἔποικοι γεγόνασιν in fact, shows that what Strabo is giving us is somebody's explanation of *how* Pelasgians came to be in Crete at all: namely that they were intruders here, just as they were everywhere else but in Arcadia. Who was this somebody?

Further evidence follows, about the Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος of *Iliad* 2. 681: καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἡ Θετταλία λέγεται. This also is not true, at all events in the text of Homer which has come down to us. First, Homer never mentions Thessaly by name at all. Next, as we have seen already, the Homeric phrase τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος, refers only to that part of 'Thessaly' which includes Halus, Alope, Trachis, Phthia, and 'Hellas' in the narrowest sense: it is the country of the Myrmidons, and the kingdom of Achilles; and it does not include even places like Phylace and Pyrasus,[148] much less the head of the Pagasaean gulf, or the country round Tricca or Larisa. This Thessaly, in fact, which, as Strabo goes on, includes τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐμβολῶν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ καὶ τῶν Θερμοπυλῶν ἕως τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς κατὰ Πίνδον is the Thessaly, not of Homer, but rather of Aeschylus; and the reason why it is either 'Pelasgian' or 'Argos' is the same also as in Aeschylus;—διὰ τὸ ἐπάρξαι τῶν τόπων τούτων τοὺς Πελασγούς. It is an ἐπαρχία, an 'annexation' of the Pelasgians, not their original home.

Here, again, as in the previous instance, what Strabo is reporting is somebody's views about Homer, and about Aeschylus also; and this somebody has catch-words of his own, ἔποικοι, ἐπάρξαι, arising from his theory and betraying it whenever they recur.

A few lines below, Strabo refers again to Ephorus by name, ascribing to him the use of Πελασγία as a name for Peloponnese. From this, we may be pretty sure that Ephorus also, like that early fifth century school of logographers which Herodotus and Thucydides ignore, took the phrase Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος as referring *primarily* to the Peloponnesian Argos, adjacent to 'Pelasgian' Arcadia; and as referring only *secondarily* to the Thessalian

[148] *Il.* 2. 695.

district. If so, Thessaly was for Ephorus, as for our anonymous 'somebody,' merely an 'eparchy' of the Pelasgians of Arcadia.

This impression is confirmed by the words which Strabo adds next, *καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἀρχελάῳ φησὶν ὅτι Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ* came to Argos and gave the Danaan name to the *Πελασγιώτας ὠνομασμένους τὸ πρίν.*[148a] This is good fifth century belief, for we have it almost verbatim in Herodotus.[149] It refers of course to the Peloponnesian Argos, but it is noteworthy that both Herodotus and Euripides make use of the peculiar ethnic *Πελασγιώτης, -ῶτις*, which only occurs otherwise, in fifth century literature, as the name of a Thessalian *τετραρχία*; and this passage is in an excerpt from Hellanicus. But why bring in Euripides and Aeschylus in the middle of this discussion of Homer? Clearly because, not Strabo, but the anonymous 'somebody,' whose views are being traced in contrast with Homer, as with the *ἅπαντες* and *πολλοί* above, was concerned to claim their support. And if so, this somebody must have been at work not earlier than the date of the *Archelaus* of Euripides. This limits the range of our enquiry a good deal.

Similarly, Strabo goes on, in regard to Dodona: *τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς ὀνομάζει Πελασγικόν* (quoting *Iliad* 16. 233) . . . *πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη Πελασγικὰ εἰρήκασιν.* Here again the phrase *αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς ὀνομάζει* has all the look of an attempt on the part of 'somebody' to claim the reluctant Homer and the others who called the Wild West 'Pelasgic' as supporters of his theory that the Pelasgian hegemony, more or less forcible in its extension, had reached as far as Dodona, if not even into Epirus—*ὡς καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο ἐπαρξάντων*—and out comes the catchword again. Now this exactly accords with the known views of Ephorus about Dodona: for Strabo says of Dodona in another context[150] *ἔστι δ', ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος, Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα.* Zeus of Dodona, that is, is *Πελασγικός per se* and *Δωδωναῖος per accidens*: as fine a rhetorical inversion of the Homeric phrase as could well be devised.

By this time, I think it will be clear that the anonymous fourth century 'somebody,' whose views we have been tracing in this passage, is none other than Ephorus himself; and that what Strabo is giving us is a detailed analysis of the Pelasgian theory of that writer, quoting him by name only when his views diverge from those which were orthodox in Strabo's time—which is very seldom—and quoting authors earlier than Ephorus only when their testimony is either of crucial value, or had required special ingenuity to make it 'fit in' with the theory.

We begin also, I think, to see the connexion between the curious and detailed commentary on the Homeric evidence, on the one hand, and the statement which follows immediately, that the ancient author who really best supported the Ephoran theory, and indeed suggested it to Ephorus, was Hesiod. It was indeed a choice between irreconcilables. The learned world from Acusilaus to Thucydides had expended itself in constructing theories

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[148a] Fr. 227: already noted above, p. 191.

[149] ii. 171.

[150] Strabo, 327. The dependence of this on the Hesiodic *Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον* is obvious.

about the Pelasgians which would fit the Homeric evidence as they understood it; but one group of early passages had stood out, and could not be made to fit. These were the statement of Hesiod that a personal and therefore primeval Pelasgus was the father of Lycaon of Arcadia, and the conformable witness of Asius that Pelasgus was Earthborn and the First Man. Pherecydes, on the other hand, had collected round the passage of Hesiod a mass of local genealogies which went back to Lycaon; and he had probably been led to connect with these Arcadian genealogies the barbarous Northwest round Dodona, and places as far beyond as Peucetia and Oenotria. Meanwhile Acusilaus and Hellanicus had tried to reconcile the Homeric and the Hesiodic schools, by applying to the Peloponnesian Argos, with its citadel Larisa, the Homeric phrase about *τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* in Thessaly, and also the Homeric statement that *some* Pelasgians (who however had nothing to do with *τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος*) dwelt round a place called Larisa. The tragedians belong wholly to this popular syncretistic school. Herodotus and Thucydides, on the other hand, use mainly Homeric data, but supplement these by fresh search for objective fact, and by new methods of interpretation. But now the reaction from anthropology, which Thucydides had foreseen, has come; and it is entirely in accord with the methods of fourth century rhetoric, and with the known bent of his own genius, that Ephorus should appear in due season with the mission to construct *πρὸς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν* a completely inverted pyramid, resting its slender apex on the one outstanding passage about a personal Pelasgus in Arcadia, and incorporating the Homeric passages, somewhat unsuccessfully, very near the broad end of the structure.

With this clue in mind, the rest of the passage of Strabo is instructive reading. The remaining passage of Homer, about the 'actual' Pelasgians among the allies of Priam,[151] is dismissed in a fashion as brief as it is characteristic: *καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι Κίλιξιν Ὅμηρος εἴρηκε τοὺς ὁμόρους Πελασγούς.* Now this, once more, is simply not true, unless the Homeric text has suffered grievously since Strabo's time. Moreover, if it were, it would make Homer group with the Pelasgians just those allies of Priam who are least 'at home' in their Homeric position on the map, when compared with the historical Cilicians; and so would afford the plainest suggestion of *τὸ πολυπλάνητον.*[151a]

That the Aeschylean theory, too (however well it suited Ephorus in Thessaly), needed amendment in Peloponnese, is clear from the adversative clause which follows. *Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Μυκήνας Ἄργους φησὶν ἐν Ἱκέτισι καὶ Δαναΐσι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν· καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον δὲ Πελασγίαν φησὶν Ἔφορος κληθῆναι*; and then follows the quotation, already noted, from Euripides. Aeschylus, that is, was in error in supposing that it was because the Peloponnesian Argos was *Πελασγικόν* that Peloponnese was called *Πελασγία*; and Ephorus has set him right. For it is not merely the *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* of Argolis, but Peloponnese as a whole, which on his theory

[151] *Il.* 2. 843.

[151a] We may note in passing the marked antithesis between the ethnology of Ephorus and that of Herodotus. In the fifth century it is the Dorian Hellenes who are the migratory *ἔποικοι* of Greece, *πολυπλάνητοι κάρτα.* (i. 56).

acquired the name Πελασγία: and it acquired it, as we have seen, not in pre-Danaan days from the Argive Πελασγός of Aeschylus—wide reaching as his ἐπαρχίαι were—but from the Pelasgian στρατιωτικοί of Arcadia.

§ 15.—*The Successors of Ephorus.*

Two classes of data, it will be observed, have evaded, hitherto, the wide-spread net of the new 'Arcadian Theory': they will have to form the very cornice of the inverted pyramid; and they are just the data which had most contributed in the fifth century to throw fresh light on the realism of the Homeric evidence. We have not, in fact, had a word, as yet, either about Lemnos and Imbros, or about Attica.

Strabo goes on however (with an adversative consturction once more, Ἀντικλείδης δὲ πρώτους φησὶν αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον κτίσαι, καὶ δὴ τούτων τινὰς καὶ μετὰ Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν συνᾶραι. Now it is not very likely that any of Anticleides' writings were extant early enough to be of use to Ephorus; and Philochorus, the Atthidographer who is particularly responsible for the speculation about the Πελασγοὶ-Πελαργοί which Strabo quotes next, is even later still. It follows that what Strabo is doing now, is to supplement and develope the theory of Ephorus from the works of his immediate successors. In both cases the Pelasgians are represented not as aborigines but as immigrants; but the verbs are no longer ἐποικεῖν and ἐπάρξαι, but κτίσαι and ἐπιφοιτᾶν. How exactly the fact of these Pelasgian settlements was worked into the general structure of the theory, there is nothing in this passage to show; but the silence of Strabo as to Ephorus, and his use of later writers to supplement his theory on these two points, certainly suggest that a difficulty had been felt. In the case of Athens the problem was simplified in advance for Ephorus by the circumstance that, as Herodotus observed, the Athenians, whatever their origin, were so thoroughly Hellenized as to be reckoned τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην,[152] and therefore furthest removed from the simplicity and folly of barbarians. If, that is, the theory of Ephorus arose as a false corollary from a cultural classification of extant Greeks, such as was contemplated in the time of Thucydides, the Athenians must at once have fallen out of the list of possible candidates for genuine Pelasgian ancestry; and if so, the stories in Hecataeus and Herodotus about their dealings with Pelasgian πλανῆται would come in as proof of the early date of Attica's conversion to Hellenism. The philological speculations of Philochorus about Πελασγοὶ-Πελαργοί rest on inadequate knowledge of the history of the Attic dialect. But, whatever their validity, they are incompatible with any theory which did not reject (or more probably ignore) the whole of the Herodotean treatment of the 'aboriginal' Pelasgians of Attica, and lay stress solely on the Herodotean admission that certain Pelasgians 'came and went' between Attica and Lemnos.

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[152] Hdt. i. 60.

In the case of Lemnos we have further evidence of the fourth century treatment of Homer. Homeric proof of the late arrival of the Pelasgians in Lemnos existed indeed, though only of a negative kind, and so far Anticleides was justified in asserting that the Pelasgians were not aborigines but colonists. But in laying stress on the negative evidence, he ignored the positive testimony of the *Iliad* to a *pre*-Pelasgian κτίσις in Lemnos; and it was only by so ignoring it that he was able to state πρώτους . . . αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον κτίσαι.

§ 16.—*Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians.*

Strabo's citation from Anticleides introduces another new feature, when it attributes to Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros a share in the foundation of Etruria. Attempts at an explanation of the western Tyrrhenians by means of a Pelasgian theory of the Aegean go back, as we shall see, at least as far as Hellanicus; and both Herodotus and Thucydides mention 'actual' examples of the two peoples in an association so close as to border on identity. But the statement of Anticleides is, I believe, the earliest which connects the 'actual' Tyrrhenians of Etruria with any part of the Aegean where 'actual' Pelasgians existed in historic times. It is on this ground that I have reserved till now an examination of the literary evidence about the Tyrrhenians by the same method of criticism to which I have confined myself in the preceding sections. If it leads to an intelligible result in this case also, I think I may claim this as some confirmation both of my previous results and of the method itself.

Considering how much has been written about the Tyrrhenians and how large a place they filled on the Greek horizon, it is almost surprising to find how little *early* evidence about them has survived in Greek literature. Homer has no mention of Tyrrhenians at all; and the isolated passage in Hesiod's *Theogonia* (l. 1016) is suspect. In fact the only direct reference in literature earlier than the fifth century, is that in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* (l. 8). Here the sea-pirates who kidnap Dionysus, and are miraculously punished by him, are introduced without comment as Τυρσηνοί. But the Hymn gives no internal indication of the date or place of the episode, except that in l. 28 Egypt and Cyprus on the one hand, and the Hyperboreans on the other, seem to lie on the poet's horizon; and this does little but confirm the conclusion suggested by style and language that the Hymn may belong to the sixth or seventh century, and not much earlier. At two points in the Hymn there may be traces of 'Tyrrhenian' proper names; but if there are, they are hopelessly corrupted. It is possible, but is not proved by anything in our text, that the Hymn may belong to the same Cycladic cult of Dionysus as the fragmentary Hymn I, with its allusions to Naxos and Icaria; [154] but it is also possible, as the unexplained allusion

[154] The earliest version of the story of Dionysus, which implies this is that in Apollod. iii. 5. 3.

to the bear[154] suggests, that it may belong to the Brauronian cult: in which case this Hymn (or the legend which it embodies) may be the source from which the Tyrrhenian name came later into the story of the Pelasgian raids round Attica.

In the fifth century four distinct stories were told about Tyrrhenians in the Aegean basin.[155]

(1) Herodotus[156] and Thucydides[157] are agreed that Tyrrhenians existed still, in the fifth century, in the district enclosed between Chalcidice, the Strymon, the Axius, and the inland Paeonia; and that they were adjacent to (Hdt.), if not actually part of (Thuc.), the Pelasgians who survived in that district. Thucydides adds, as we have seen, that they retained a language of their own, and connects them with certain inhabitants of Lemnos and Attica who seem to be those whom Herodotus calls Pelasgians. But neither writer connects these actual fifth century Tyrrhenians with the Tyrrhenians of the West.[158]

(2) Sophocles is quoted[159] as having used the double phrase *καὶ Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελασγοῖς* of a part (or the whole) of the people of the prehistoric realm of Inachus, namely the Peloponnesian Argos. But we have seen in the case of the word *Πελασγοί*, first, that its application to the Peloponnesian Argos results from misinterpretation of the *Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος* of Homer; secondly, that already in the time of Aeschylus this prehistoric realm was regarded as including a large part of central and northern Greece, and particularly the Thessalian Pelasgiotis. There is nothing in the Sophoclean use of 'Tyrrhenian' to preclude this interpretation of the passage, and there is no suggestion anywhere that there either were or had been 'Tyrrhenians' in the realm of Inachus in any other sense than that in which there were or had been 'Pelasgians.' The passage in fact is only of interest as confirming the evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides as to a growing belief in the fifth century that the 'Pelasgian' and the 'Tyrrhenian' names 'went together' in some way; and, as we shall see shortly, by the close of the fourth century these names had become practically interchangeable.

(3) Hellanicus,[160] though he does not expressly mention Tyrrhenians in the Aegean, has a theory about the origin of the Tyrrhenians in the West which derives them from his Pelasgians of Thessaly. These Thessalian Pelasgians, on being expelled from Thessaly by the Hellenes (who, for

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[154] See l. 46 and Crusius' note.

[155] I neglect the tragedians' use of *Τυρσηνική* as a stock epithet of *σάλπιγξ* or *κώδων*. Aesch. *Eum.* 567, Soph. *Aj.* 17.

[156] i. 57.

[157] iv. 109.

[158] It is only by rewriting the passage of Herodotus, and therewith that of Thucydides, that E. Meyer is enabled to conclude that Herodotus 'kennt Tyrsener im Bereiche des aegaischen Meeres nicht.' *Forschungen* i. p. 21.

[159] Fr. 256 = Dionys Hal. i. 25.

[160] Fr. 1 = Dionys. Hal. i. 28.

Hellanicus, seem to have been immigrants from somewhere)[161] took ship and landed in Italy ἐπὶ Σπίνητι ποταμῷ, that is, on the Umbrian coast near Spina;[162] they then went up country εἰς Κροτῶνα πόλιν.

That Hellanicus however had himself no evidence of the existence of the Tyrrhenian name in Thessaly, is suggested by his use here of the Pelasgian name solely, so long as he is describing events in Thessaly or indeed anywhere outside Italy; and by his statement that it was only on arrival in Italy that the Pelasgian refugees took the name 'Tyrrhenian.'[163] At the same time we must note that elsewhere[164] he ascribes a settlement at Metaon in Lesbos to one Μέτας Τυρρηνός; and as most of the Lesbian towns were of Thessalian origin there is a *prima facie* case for regarding this Τυρρηνός as coming from thence.[165] He might however have been a Pelasgian from Lemnos or the Hellespont.

Hellanicus gives elsewhere, as a lower limit of date for this migration, the third generation before the Trojan war, and the twenty-sixth year of Alcyone, priestess of the Argive Heraeum; and Philistus, a little later,[166] gives the same date, in the formula 'eighty years before the Trojan war.' In both cases the actual date in question is that of the expulsion of the Sicels from Italy into Sicily; but as the Ligurians, who according to Philistus expelled them, were themselves under compulsion from 'Umbrians and Pelasgians,' the presence of Pelasgians in or near Umbria is presumed at a date not later than the Sicel migration. We cannot however be certain that the Pelasgians who landed at Spina were the only people of the name whom Philistus (or even Hellanicus) believed to be at that time in Italy.

(4) About the Western Tyrrhenians however Herodotus has a quite different story, which he gives on Lydian authority[167]: namely that they are of the same origin as the Lydians. His story is that in a time of famine these Lydian Tyrrhenians took ship and 'after passing many peoples' came to the Ὀμβρικοί where they founded cities; and there they live still. They

[161] The story added by Dionysius, that this happened in the days of Deucalion, cannot be traced to any early source. The nearest analogy is Herodotus' statement (i. 56) that in the days of Deucalion the Hellenes οἴκεον γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν and in the time of his grandson Dorus migrated to the Histiaeotis below Ossa and Olympus: but this does not prove that in the intervening generation they occupied the intervening territory, though Dionysius very likely thought it did. Hesiod (*Cat.* fr. 11 and Pindar (*Ol.* 9. 64) seem to have regarded Deucalion as king of Opuntian Locris, or at least of Opus: but we do not know how early it was discovered that this king of Opus was the invader of Phthia.

[162] That Spina should have maintained tributary relations with Delphi down to the time of its destruction, as is stated by Dionysius (i. 17, perhaps also on the authority of Hellanicus, but not explicitly so), does not seem to prove Tyrrhenian, or Pelasgian, or even Thessalian origin. That the latter view at all events was popularly believed later is confirmed by the analogy of Ravenna. But even a Thessalian origin does not prove that the colonists were either Tyrrhenians or Pelasgians, and Strabo (214), who is our authority for this, has chosen to describe Spina as πάλαι δὲ Ἑλληνὶς πόλις ἔνδοξος, which is bad for its *Pelasgian* origin.

[163] There is some late evidence for a belief that there were Pelasgian settlers in Lesbos: see especially Strabo, 221, 621, Diod. 5. 81, Plin. *N.H.* 5. 31. 39.

[164] Fr. 121 = Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεταών.

[165] Dionys. Hal. i. 22.

[166] Dionys. Hal. *l.c.* = fr. 2.

[167] i. 94.

got their name from their leader Tyrsenus, who was son of Atys and consequently (i. 7) brother of Lydus the *eponymos* of the Lydians. Here the change of name suggests the same conclusion as in the case of Hellanicus, namely that Herodotus had no evidence before him of a Tyrrhenian people in Lydia. On the other hand a dichotomy of the Lydians, such as his story presumes, is in accordance with a native Lydian tradition of fifth century date: for Xanthus the Lydian[168] gives, as the sons of Atys, Lydus and Torebus (or Torrhebus) and adds that the languages of their respective descendants stood to one another as Ionic to Doric, that is, they were closely-kindred dialects. Xanthos however gives no indication of a Torrhebian emigration: but he knows of a town Torrhaebus in Lydia. Not own 'Tyrrhenus' however is known either to Herodotus or to anyone else.[169].

Another point is perhaps worth noting, to complete the parallel between the accounts of Herodotus and Xanthus, and to suggest a line of argument which may very likely have been present to the mind of the former. Herodotus introduces his account of the Tyrrhenian emigration as a footnote to the Lydian invention of *παιγνίαι*, which he ascribes to the Lydians, on Lydian authority, in a passage the rest of which is remarkable for its detailed knowledge of things Lydian.[170] Now we do not know enough either about Lydian or Tyrrhenian, or even about Hellenic *παιγνίαι*, to be able to confirm or to dispute Herodotus' account; but we may fairly assume that in his time there was actually sufficient similarity between these pastimes, to uphold such a story; and further that such similarity between Lydian and Tyrrhenian games was one of the *testimonia* to the story of the Tyrrhenian emigration—as one might argue from the games of New England or Virginia nowadays. So that it becomes important to note that in Xanthus also[171] the place Torrhebus has a local culture-hero named Carius, who is *inventor artium*, and that is why Lydian music, in particular, is called Torrhebian: for here we seem to have another phase of the same general story of a Lydian or Torrhebian culture-hero.

It is by this time fairly clear how Herodotus came by his story, at its Lydian end. At its Italian end the story is clearly a variant of that of Hellanicus: for 'Umbria' in Herodotus[172] extends northwards as far as the foot of the Alps, and so includes the site of Spina. Meanwhile his phrase, *ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους*, looks very like an attempt to summarize a long series of data as to 'Tyrrhenian' settlements, or attempted settlements, on the route between Lydia and the head of the Adriatic.

Summing up the evidence of the fifth century writers we reach the following presentation of the fifth century view of the Tyrrhenians: and we

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[168] Fr. 1 = Dionys. Hal. i. 28.

[169] The name *Τυρρηνός* would be a natural 'ethnic' if there was ever a place called Tyrrha, and it was believed in quite late times that there was such a town in the South Lydian district of Torrhebia (*Et. Mag.* s.v. *Τύραννος*) and that Gyges came from thence. But this proves nothing for the fifth century or earlier.

[170] i. 94 *φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παυὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι· ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες.*

[171] Fr. 2, summarized by Nicholas of Damascus.

[172] iv. 49.

note at once the remarkable likeness between its main features and those of the Pelasgian theory at the same phase.

First, there are 'actual' Tyrrhenians (1) north of Chalcidice, (2) in Etruria; but no fifth century writer has recorded any attempt to identify them.

Secondly, the 'actual' Tyrrhenians of Chalcidice are closely associated with 'actual' Pelasgians in our two best authorities.

Thirdly, speculation has been at work, connecting, on the one hand the 'actual' Tyrrhenians of Chalcidice with the intrusive Pelasgians of Lemnos and Attica, on the other hand the 'actual' Tyrrhenians of the West (1) with 'theoretical' Tyrrhenians in Lydia, now extinct, (2) with 'theoretical' Pelasgians in Thessaly, also extinct now.

Fourthly, in popular belief, represented by Sophoclean Tragedy, the name 'Tyrrhenian', again in the closest association with 'Pelasgians' has got a general connotative sense of 'pre-Hellenic in the Aegean,' which exactly corresponds with the behaviour of the Tyrrhenian individuals whose exploits have come down to us in our one epic source, the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*.[173]

But no sooner do we pass from the fifth century into the fourth than all is exaggeration and confusion.

First, as we should expect, the connotative use of 'Tyrrhenian' to mean 'violent and piratical' crystallizes into a definite theory, assigned to Ephorus by name, in which the Tyrrhenians play almost exactly the same part *at sea*, as has been assigned to the Pelasgians on land. The crucial passages are:

(1) Strabo 410, where Ephorus accounts thus for the lateness of Hellenic expansion in the West,[174] *τοὺς γὰρ πρότερον δεδιέναι τὰ λῃστήρια τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων*. Here the Tyrrhenian is the type of Outland barbarism, as the Pelasgian is of pre-Hellenic barbarism in the Aegean.

(2) Strabo 477, where the writer, speaking of the Cretans, says *μετὰ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς οἳ μάλιστα ἐδῄωσαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλατταν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ διαδεξάμενοι τὰ λῃστήρια*. At first sight it is tempting to take this as referring to the Cretan piracy of historic times, which is much in the mind of Strabo himself. But if the ascription to Ephorus is correct, this is out of the question, for the Cretan piracy did not appear to be serious till after the age of Alexander. Another possible interpretation would be to regard *τὰ λῃστήρια*—a regular Ephoran catchword, like *ἔποικοι* and *ἐπάρξαι*—as the victims' expression for a 'sea-power.' But there is no evidence that Ephorus was acquainted with the Thalassocracy List which

[173] This is all quite independent of the late and far too sweeping generalization of Dionysius (i. 25, on the passage of Sophocles), *Τυρρηνίας μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὅλον τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἦν*.

[174] He assigns the foundation of the western Naxos and Megara to the fifteenth generation after the Trojan war 1184 B.C.—[15 30=]450 =734 B.C.).

comes to us through Diodorus; and even if he was, it cannot be argued that he described as Tyrrhenian the sea-power[175] which the List calls Pelasgian: for the sea-power which succeeds it is not 'Cretan' in the List, but 'Thracian.' The only alternative is to regard the 'Cretan' λῃστήρια as the famous 'sea-power of Minos,' and to regard the Tyrrhenian λῃστήρια as the Ephoran equivalent for what Herodotus and Thucydides know as the 'Carian' sea-power which Minos overthrew.[176] So, whereas in the Aegean this 'Tyrrhenian' sea-power was broken by Minos, and permitted Hellenic expansion early, in the West Minos failed (as Herodotus knew), and Hellenic expansion tarried till the fifteenth generation after the Trojan War.

Secondly, whereas Hellanicus had made his Thessalian Pelasgians change their name on their arrival in Italy, and so leave the West a free field for Tyrrhenians, the fourth century, from Philistus onwards, admits unmodified Pelasgians in Italy. In Philistus' account, already cited,[177] of the dispossession of Ligurians and Sicels southward, their invaders are not Umbrians and Tyrrhenians, as we should expect from the fifth century evidence, but Umbrians and Pelasgians. The later writers carry this confusion further, sometimes identifying Pelasgian and Tyrrhenian, sometimes distinguishing them. The 'Thessalian' Ravenna, for example, strengthens itself against 'Tyrrhenian' attack, by admitting its 'Umbrian' neighbours.[178] In Southern Campania, beyond the Sarnus R. lie *εἶτα Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Πελασγοί, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ Σαυνῖται· καὶ οὗτοι δ' ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῶν τόπων.*[179] Diodorus, in fact, was probably under no misapprehension when he said that 'the Greeks' apply the name 'Tyrrhenian' to Latins, Umbrians, and Ausones indifferently.[180]

Thirdly, the weakness of the evidence which in Hellanicus' story connects the Pelasgian immigrants from Thessaly with the Tyrrhenians of Etruria,—and perhaps also a discrepancy between the date of king Nanas of Thessaly in Hellanicus, and that of king Atys of Lydia in Herodotus and in the few writers such as Timaeus[181] who followed him in this matter,—seem to have led later to the conclusion that in the West there were *two* movements of colonization, one earlier and 'Pelasgian,' the other later and 'Tyrrhenian.' A good example of the duplication which ensues is that legend of Caere,[182] in which a Thessalian-Pelasgian in the town speaks Greek—χαῖρε—to a 'Tyrrhenian' assailant, and is understood by him.[183] The Pelasgian emigration to the West from Thessaly, moreover, was certain sooner or later

[175] Placed by Eusebius (Jerome) between 1056 and 961 B.C.; and by myself about a century later (*J.H.S.* xxvii, pp. 88, 126–7).

[176] This agrees well with the fourth century date for the spread of the Hellenes over the Pelasgian 'eparchies' of the mainland: for Ion son of Xuthus is very nearly contemporary with Theseus, and Theseus is one generation below Minos and one generation above the Trojan war. Hellen therefore was four generations before the Trojan war, and Xuthus and Dorus were contemporaries of Minos of Crete.

[177] Fr. 2 = Dion. Hal. i. 17.

[178] Strabo. 214.

[179] Strabo, 247.

[180] For instances see the literature in Bertra and Reinach, *Les Celtes dans les vallées du Po et du Danube*, 1894, pp. 74–6.

[181] Fr. 19.

[182] Strabo, 220.

[183] That Caere, or rather the unreformed Agylla, had like Spina, regular relations with Delphi, and even a treasury there, proves nothing as to its origin.

to be confused with the far earlier movements implied in the genealogy which Pherecydes constructed for the children of Lycaon of Arcadia. One version of the latter brought Oenotrians from Arcadia to Italy as its first inhabitants, and a kindred version (which however only comes to us through Dionysius, and is not assigned to Pherecydes or his followers by name) sets this Arcadian movement as far back as the seventeenth generation before the Trojan War. The evidence however for this double-colonization is all later than the fourth century:[183a] it naturally proves nothing for any period earlier than the circumstances which called the theory itself into existence; and these circumstances are indicated very clearly in Dionysius' own version of the story of the Pelasgians in Italy,[184] for part of which he claims the support of Hellanicus. For he represents the Thessalian Pelasgians of Hellanicus as being themselves a detachment of the militant Pelasgians of Arcadia, who were not invented till a century after Hellanicus' time; and he puts their arrival back six generations before the days of Deucalion, whereas Hellanicus had kept them in Thessaly until the invasion of the Hellenes, at least one generation after Deucalion, and only three generations before the Trojan War. The whole story, in fact, as viewed by Dionysius, is seen through the spectacles of Ephorus; or rather perhaps of some follower of Ephorus whose aim was to work into the Ephoran theory some part of the calculations of Pherecydes.[185]

Fourthly, the Tyrrhenian name became more and more widely applied to the Pelasgian invaders of Lemnos, Attica, and other parts of the Aegean. The statement of Thucydides, that his Tyrrhenian-Pelasgian folk in Mt. Athos were akin to the invaders of Lemnos, lay open to misconception in proportion as the word 'Tyrrhenian' gained more generic vogue; and we have already seen that Hellanicus had placed a 'Tyrrhenian' colony in Lesbos, over against *Ἄνταυδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα*. There was some excuse, therefore, for the attempt of Anticleides to reconcile the accounts given by Herodotus, and by Hellanicus, of the western Tyrrhenians, by causing *Pelasgians* from Lemnos and Imbros (who on Thucydidean authority were akin to the Tyrrhenian-Pelasgians of Mt. Athos) to join *Tyrrhenus*, son of Atys, and his men, *ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους*, as Herodotus says, on their way to Tyrrhenia-in-the-West.

But it is quite another affair, when Ephorus describes the Lemnians as Tyrrhenians without qualification;[186] or when Philochorus[187] retells the story

[183a] It is set out in great detail by Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece* i. pp. 231 ff.

[184] Dionys. Hal. i. 22.

[185] I have already commented (p. 187, n. 41) on the doubt which must exist as to the date of any statement attributed to Pherecydes, and my impression that, though the earliest of the three writers of this name was a *λογογράφος* and probably compiled genealogies, the quotations themselves betray the influence of the Ephoran theory, and may be quite late. It is certainly remarkable that Ephorus did not acknowledge his debt to Pherecydes as well as to Hesiod, if fragment 85 of Pherecydes was extant and known to him.

[186] Diod. 10. 19.

[187] Fr. 5. We have already had two experiences of Philochorus as a philologist and it is in the very next fragment, fr. 6, that he derives the name of the Homeric *Σίντιες* from *σίνεσθαι* with reference to this same raid. But in this fragment he calls the raiders Pelasgians. The Homeric *Σίντιες* however as we have seen, have no more to do with the Pelasgians than they have with the Tyrrhenians.

of the Pelasgian raid on Attica with details derived from Hecataeus and Herodotus, but with 'Tyrrhenians' substituted for Pelasgians throughout, and with the philological moral τύραννος εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν τῶν βιαίων καὶ λῃστῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς . . . Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ὀλίγον τινὰ χρόνον οἰκήσαντες ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις . . . πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο . . . ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκφυγόντες Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ᾤκησαν . . . and then returned when παρθένοι ἀρκτευόμεναι τῇ θεῷ were at their mercy at Brauron. After this it is not surprising that Apollonius of Rhodes,[188] followed by Plutarch[189] and Polyaenus,[190] should have described as 'Tyrrhenians' the persecutors of the Minyans; that Aristoxenus[191] should describe Pythagoras as a 'Tyrrhenian' from Lemnos; that Diogenes Laertius[192] should describe one Mnesarchus as Τυρρηνὸν ὄντα καὶ γένος τῶν Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον καὶ Σκῦρον οἰκησάντων Τυρρηνῶν; or finally that the Lemnians who were conquered by Miltiades should rank, for Cornelius Nepos, as *Carians*.[193] Only much later (with the single exception of one passage of Charax) does the revival of Herodotean authority permit Stephanus (*s.v.* Ἡφαιστίας), Suidas, and Zenobius (*s.v.* Ἑρμώνειος χάρις) to recur to the fifth century name of 'Pelasgian.'

The mention of Scyros is particularly instructive, because its inhabitants had been noted by Thucydides[194] as Dolopes, of a well-known mainland stock of ordinary North-Greek type.[195] Ephorus however called them 'Pelasgians,'[196] as we might almost have guessed, seeing they are ἔποικοι from North Greece; Scymnus couples them with the men of Sciathos as Πελασγοί, but gives them a quite different origin, ἐκ Θρᾴκης διαβάντες, ὡς λόγος;[197] Nicolas of Damascus calls them 'Pelasgians and Carians'[198] and Diogenes, as we have seen, couples them with the men of Lemnos and Imbros, but calls all three peoples 'Tyrrhenian.'

§ 17.—*Conclusion.*

Anyone who has followed this analysis of the Greek authorities as far as the close of the fourth century will agree, I think, that there is not much to be gained by classifying the unauthenticated statements of the writers further down. Anyone, moreover, who is familiar with those statements, will recognize at once how large a proportion of them consists in direct elaboration of the Homeric and Herodotean connotative view, that 'Pelasgian' meant 'pre-Hellenic' in much the same sense as 'British' is popularly used in England for 'pre-Roman,' or 'Druidical' for 'pre-Christian'; and how large a proportion of the remainder are τεμάχη τοῦ μεγάλου δείπνου Ἐφόρου.

Take the case of the famous Pelasgian settlement in Rome. There is

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188 *Argonautica* iv. 1760.

189 *Q. Gr.* 21, *Virt. Mul.* 8.

190 vii. 49.

191 Fr. 1.

192 viii. 1. 2.

193 *Miltiades* 2.

194 i. 98.

195 Hdt. vii. 132, 185. Though he has occasion in vii. 183 to mention a Scyrian named Pammon, all he has to say of him is that he betrayed a Greek anchorage to the Persians.

196 Diodorus, xi. 60.

197 Scymnus, 615.

198 Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σκῦρος

an obvious but anonymous culture-hero; so he is Evander (*εὐ-ανδρ-ος = vir bonus*) and of Arcadian origin. There is the place-name Palatium; so it is a de-nasalized form of Pallantion in Arcadia. There is archaic masonry upon the hill; so it is a Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος: and behold! an 'important confirmatory proof' of the Ephoran theory of an Italian '*eparchy*' of the Pelasgians; incidentally also a good excuse for Roman intervention in the affairs of 'Pelasgian' Epirus and 'Pelasgian' Greece.

Nor is the case of the Pelasgians exceptional. I have dealt already incidentally with the Carian Theory which grew up on parallel lines in the South Aegean, and more fully with the story of the Tyrrhenian name in the Aegean and in the West. The story of the Leleges is shorter and more fragmentary; but in its main outlines it hardly differs. In all, there is an early period, beginning with a time when there seems to have been a real but evanescent tribe, of limited geographical range, and some peculiarities of culture; and ending, between the sixth and the fifth centuries, with a vague cycle of memories, and a connotative usage of the name. To this, in each case, succeeds a fifth-century phase in which, while ingenious theory flourishes, real search for 'survivals' of backward folk is perceptible. Then comes the fourth century, regardless of research, reckless of accuracy or scholarship, infatuated with headstrong theory, to which the evidence (such as it is) must conform or be ignored; and then Alexandria, stupidly farraginous, but rehabilitated lately, as we saw to begin with, as 'evidence to the same effect, perfectly unexceptionable and as strictly historical as the case will admit of.'

J. L. MYRES.

APPENDIX ON APOLLONIUS, *ARGONAUTICA* I. 1021–4.

I have reserved for discussion in an appendix the one passage in which an ancient author purports to describe an attempt on the part of 'actual' Pelasgians to gain a footing on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont. The passage itself is of late date; and my only reasons for not treating it among contemporary passages are that the personages to which it refers can be traced back beyond the fifth century; that the ethnic situation which it presupposes has already been shown to be presupposed in the Homeric Age; and that the incident itself occurs in a context which links it at latest with the Ionian colonization of Propontis, and at earliest with the Argonaut-saga, which we know from Homer to have been current in some form or other before the composition of the Odyssey.

The anecdote in question is as follows. The Argonauts, after passing the Troad, landed on the Asiatic coast of Propontis, made friends with the Doliones and their king Cyzicus, and fought some γηγενέες from the interior, who tried to blockade the Argo in the so-called χυτὸς λιμήν at Cyzicus. Soon after, they were forced by stress of weather to put back to the same friendly coast. Then follow the crucial lines:—

i. 1021–4. *οὐδέ τις αὐτὴν νῆσον ἐπιφραδέως ἐνόησεν*
ἔμμεναι· οὐδ' ὑπὸ νυκτὶ Δολίονες ἄψ ἀνιόντας
ἥρωας νημερτὲς ἐπήισαν· ἀλλά που ἀνδρῶν
Μακριέων εἵσαντο Πελασγικὸν ἄρεα κέλσαι.

So there was a fight at cross purposes, and great slaughter of the Doliones, and in that fight was Cyzicus slain, their king: whose tomb remained at the city of Cyzicus in Hellenic times, honoured still with Argonautic ἄεθλα.

Now granted that all that Apollonius knew was the foundation-legend of Cyzicus, and some previous version, not necessarily early, of the Voyage of the Argo: granted also that the foundation-legend itself was mainly aetiological, and that every self-respecting town in Propontis, and beyond, had its own 'reminiscence' of the Argonauts, to prove its antiquity; yet nothing of all this explains either the specific name of the Μακριέων, or why the phrase Πελασγικὸν ἄρεα is applied to their raid.

This name, and phrase, completely puzzled the very learned scholiast of Apollonius. He seems to have begun by applying it to the Doliones themselves; and he explains (1) that the Doliones are colonists from Euboea; (2) that Euboea was once called Μακρίς 'Long Island'; (3) that as Euboea lies 'near Peloponnese, which is Pelasgian,' Cyzicene (*i.e.* paullo-post-Euboic) warfare was 'Pelasgian' likewise.[199] We have clearly to look further than this for an explanation.

Apollonius himself shares, as we have seen,[200] the misapprehensions of his time as to the relations of Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians; and he is therefore not the most likely person to have held consciously a Pelasgian theory, or recounted willingly a Pelasgian anecdote, which presumed a quite different view from anything which had been held since the fifth century, if even consciously so late as this. It is therefore the most notable, if he *has* preserved such an anecdote; and if he has, there is a fair presumption that he did not invent it, but found it in existence and used it.

The version of the same incident which is given by Apollodorus[201] suggests that there was more in the authority which Apollonius was following, than he chose to incorporate in his *Argonautica*. The passage is worth quoting in full: ἀπὸ Λήμνου δὲ προσίσχουσι Δολίοσι, ὧν ἐβασίλευε Κύζικος· οὗτος αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο φιλοφρόνως. νυκτὸς ἀναχθέντες ἐντεῦθεν, καὶ περιπεσόντες ἀντιπνοίαις, ἀγνοοῦντες πάλιν τοῖς Δολίοσι προσίσχουσιν. οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες Πελασγικὸν εἶναι στρατὸν (ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν συνεχῶς πολεμούμενοι) μάχην τῆς νυκτὸς συνάπτουσιν, ἀγνοοῦντες πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας.

Who were these Pelasgians by whom the Doliones were 'incessantly raided'? They can hardly be the Herodotean Pelasgians of Placie and Scylace; partly because the Pelasgians are apparently still an European people in Homer, and had certainly not yet reached Lemnos in the Homeric Age; but still more because it was a sea-borne raid which convinced the Doliones that the invaders were Pelasgian, and the Pelasgians of Placie and Scylace were on the same side of Propontis as Cyzicus itself.

But were they Pelasgians from Lemnos? Certainly not, in a poem by Apollonius, or we should surely have heard something of this exploit in his version of the Lemnian episode. Moreover, even if Apollonius had thought that there were Pelasgians in Lemnos in Jason's time, there is Homeric authority, as we have seen, to the contrary.

The whole question is somewhat complicated by the fact that there was also great doubt in antiquity as to who were the Doliones. Stephanus says[202] that Homer applied this name to the inhabitants of Cyzicus ὡς τοὺς τὸν Ἴσμαρον Κίκονας: but this does not occur in our text of Homer. It suggests however that there existed some 'Homeric' source of tradition about Cyzicus; and this we shall soon see to be probable otherwise.

In the ordinary way Cyzicus counted as a colony of Miletus; but we know from Hecataeus of Miletus,[203] at the close of the sixth century, that it had a previous existence as a town of the Doliones (or Dolieis as Hecataeus himself wrote the name). The geographical situation is discussed fully and clearly by Strabo.[204] But who the Doliones were is only known from one phrase of Ephorus, and from Alexandrine or later writers; and opinions differed then in an instructive way. Ephorus[205] describes them as Πελασγοὺς

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199 Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 962, 1024.

200 Above p. 221, n. 188.

201 i. 9. 18. 1. Apollodorus wrote *circa* 140 B.C.

202 Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κύζικος.

203 Fr. 204 = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δολίονες.

204 Str. 575.

205 Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 1037.

ὄντας καὶ ἐχθρῶδῶς διακειμένους πρὸς τοὺς τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν κατοικοῦντας διὰ τὸ ἀπελασθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν. *i.e.* he regards the Doliones as exiled Thessalian-Pelasgians; and in this he is followed by Conon,[206] who adds that Cyzicus was their king in Thessaly, and that those who expelled them were Aeolians. It is therefore not merely a confusion of names when another late writer[207] calls the Doliones 'Dolopes'; for we have seen already[208] that the population of Scyros which for Thucydides was 'Dolopian' had become 'Pelasgian' already for Ephorus, and remained so for Scymnus and Nicolas.

But there was a quite different account of the Doliones,[209] which described them not as exiles from Thessaly, but as ἄποικοι Θετταλῶν, and consequently kinsmen of Jason, and fellow-enemies both of the expelled Pelasgians, and of the γηγενέες of the Cyzicene interior. This was the view of Deilochus, whom the Scholiast says that Apollonius was following.[210] These γηγενέες are an additional element of complexity in the story. Apollonius says that it was they who tried to blockade the Argo in the χυτὸς λιμήν during the visit to Cyzicus[211] and were slain by Heracles and his comrades; but Deilochus[212] ascribes the blockade to the Pelasgians κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ πρὸς τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ὑφ' ὧν ἐξεβέβληντο,[213] and says[214] that the γηγενέες were Θεσσαλοῖς (*i.e.* Δολίοσι) ἐγχειρογάστορας, and that it was they who mistook the Argonauts for pirates and planned the attack on them: an obvious attempt to relieve the Thessalian Cyzicenes from the reproach of that blunder. Stephanus also (*s.v.* Βέσβικος) distinguishes the obstructive γηγενέες from the Pelasgians, but curiously reckons the Pelasgians as allies of Heracles in his destruction of the γηγενέες.

Conon also adds that ὕστερον (*i.e.* after the fight with Jason) the surviving Doliones ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν Κυζίκου μετανέστησαν καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον ἔσχον: and that it was these 'Tyrrhenians' whom the Milesian colonists found there. Conon therefore had also before him, besides the 'Pelasgic' view of Ephorus, this other story which distinguished the Doliones of Cyzicus from 'Tyrrhenian' marauders in Hellespont; and we may well believe that, writing as late as he did, he meant by 'Tyrrhenian' to signify much the same as the Πελασγικὸν ἄρεα of Apollonius.

We reach therefore this conclusion. Attractive and accepted as it was, the Ephoran view, that the Doliones were Pelasgians from Thessaly, did not wholly eclipse an alternative legend that they belonged to the same great Pagasaean adventure-cycle as the Argonauts themselves; and that in their Hellespontine home they and their friends were exposed to the attack, not merely of half-conquered γηγενέες (αὐτόχθονες) on their own side of the water, but also of enemies from the European shore. These enemies Apollonius still calls 'Pelasgian': only a later compiler like Conon uses the marine equivalent 'Tyrrhenian.'

And this glimpse of another tradition does not stand quite alone. One of the theories, we may remember, to account for the Dolopes of Scyros and the men of Sciathos, was that they were Πελασγοὶ ἐκ Θρᾴκης[215] διαβάντες, ὡς λόγος: and we know that in the Homeric Age there were already 'actual' Pelasgians as far afield as Crete. We must remember also that Placie and Scylace, where Herodotus knew of Pelasgians surviving and speaking 'Pelasgic' in the fifth century, are in the immediate neighbourhood of Cyzicus itself. Mela[216] moreover has a very similar suggestion about the Doliones themselves, for he brings both them and their king Cyzicus not from Thessaly or Euboea, but from *Thrace*, making them, in fact, almost an advanced guard of our immigrant Pelasgians from the same region; so that it is not impossible that here we may have a clue to the origin of that 'Pelasgian' ancestry or quality of the Doliones of Cyzicus, which attracted the attention of Ephorus, and led to their incorporation in the great Pelasgian mythology.

It seems probable, then, that we may infer that what is present to the mind of

[206] *Narr.* 41.
[207] Orph. *Arg.* 497 (530).
[208] p. 221 above.
[209] Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 921, 987.
[210] Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 1037.
[211] Ap. Rh. i. 987.
[212] Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 1037.
[213] Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 987.
[214] Schol. 989.
[215] Scymnus, 584, see p. 221 above.
[216] Mela i. 19, 2. Compare Strabo's discussion of the ethnography of all this region, summarized on p. 196 above.

Apollonius and some other late writers is a picture of a Thrace which the Hellespont, as in Homer's time, ἐντὸς ἐέργει with difficulty; and of an Asiatic coast watched, like a 'Saxon shore,' day and night for the 'Winged Hats' from the European side.

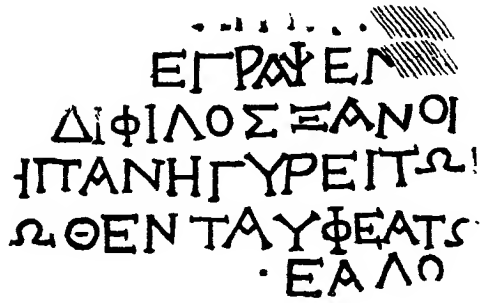
But all this breathes a quite different atmosphere from that of the Alexandrian Library. It presumes the existence of the Thraceward Pelasgians of the Catalogue, of whom no single Greek writer, I think, takes any positive account till Strabo; and even Herodotus only implicitly and vaguely. It comes to us in a context,—the foundation-legend of Cyzicus, and the ritual πάθος of its slain founder-king,—which we can trace in nomenclature back to Hecataeus of Miletus, and consequently beyond the period where the Ephoran theory of a Pelasgian conquest begins to predominate over all: back, in fact, into days when Lemnian Pelasgians were known to be post-Argonautic, and the Pelasgians of Placie and Scylace were still talking their own language and recounting their own traditions.

It gives us, in fact, a very strong case for believing that here, at any rate, Apollonius is incorporating, almost verbally, a section of a very much older *Argonautica*; that this *Argonautica* goes up certainly into the early days of Milesian colonization, probably into the Homeric Age; and very possibly even to a generation which stood to the Argonauts and the Doliones as Demodocus stood to the Trojan War.

J. L. M.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASIA MINOR.

1. FRAGMENT of white marble, entire at the upper and right edge only, measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. × 4 in. Found among the ruins of Troy on Apr. 20, 1907, by Mr. F. G. Harman from the 'Argonaut': now the property of J. Alison Glover, Esq., M.D.



- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ω(ν) - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ἔγραψεν - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - Δίφιλος Ξανθίπ-
που - - - - ἐκ - - τ]ῇ πανηγύρει τῶ[ν
Παναθηναίων - - στεφαν]ωθέντα ὑφ' ἑατῶ[ν 5
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - εα λ - - -

The date is late, not earlier than the first century B.C., as is indicated by the absence of the *iota adscriptum* (l. 4), and the coarse style of the lettering. The form ἑατῶν in l. 5 is characteristic of the first century B.C.[1] Δίφιλος Ξανθίππου is not otherwise known to me. The πανήγυρις or festival assembly of the Panathenaea at Troy celebrated by the nine cities of the Ilian union is mentioned in numerous inscriptions.[2] It is impossible to define further the outline of the original document, as so much is lost.

2–3. Two tablets of marble, now in the house of M. Jean Gaetano, a silk-manufacturer, at Moudania, on the sea of Marmora. Found by him whilst digging foundations for a wall near the centre of the town. 2, measuring

[1] Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik der att. Inschr.*[3] p. 154; Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2] 328, note 14.

[2] *E.g.* Dörpfeld, *Troja u. Ilion*, ii. p. 454, 461; Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2] 503; *Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel.* 444, notes 1 and 6. τῶ[ν ἐννέα πόλεων is also a possible restoration.

about 3 ft. by 1 ft., was buried some six feet beneath the surface, and was found in an upright position. Of 3 (which is smaller, about 9 in. wide and 6 in. high, and found near 2) nothing further is noted. Both tablets are ornamented with serpents, 3 having a coiled serpent above in relief, 2 an extended serpent incised. 2 is broken into several fragments; but the surface is wonderfully fresh (the lines ruled by the stone-cutter being still quite obvious). I understand from M. Gaetano that traces of an ancient channel or waterway were found beside these stones.' (Note by J. A. Glover, Esq., M.D.)

2.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
ΕΠΗΚΟΩΘΕΩ
ΑϹΚΛΗΠΙΩ
ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΙΩ
ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩ 5
ΔΙΩΡΥΓΑΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΙ
ΓΝΑΙΒΙΟϹΙΟΥϹΤΟϹ
ΥΠΕΡϹΩΤΗΡΙΑϹ
ΤΗΝϹΤΟΑΝΑΝΕ
ϹΤΗϹΕΝΚΑΙΤΟΝ 10
ΕΙϹΤΗΝΟΙΚΟΔΟ
ΜΙΑΝΤΟΠΟΝ
ΕΧΑΡΙϹΑΤΟ
ΤΩΘΕΩ

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· Ἐπηκόῳ θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ Περγαμηνῷ διώρυγα κατοικοῦντι Γ. Ναίβιος Ἰοῦστος ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τόπον ἐχαρίσατο τῷ θεῷ.

3.

ΓΡΑΚΧΙΣΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ
ΟΡΦΑΝΟΣΥΠΕΡΙΔΙ
ΑΣΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣΑΝΕ
ΘΗΚΑΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ
ΔΙΟΡΥΓΕΙΤΗ 5

Γράκχις Σεκοῦνδος ὀρφανὸς ὑπὲρ ἰδίας σωτηρίας ἀνέθηκα Ἀσκληπιῷ Δι[ω]ρυγείτῃ.

On April 19, 1907 a number of us who were travelling on board the 'Argonaut' landed at Moudania, and thence proceeded by rail to Brusa in Bithynia. While in Moudania our doctor, Mr. J. Alison Glover, M.D., heard of these inscriptions, and went to see them. He took copies and memoranda

of both: of 3 he made also a rough rubbing. These he has handed to me for publication. They are not in Boeckh's *Corpus*, and I do not remember to have seen them before. The inscriptions are entire and legible. The last line of 3 is slightly obscured by the carved margin of the stone; but no doubt the third latter is Ω, and not Ο. Dr. Glover writes Ϲ carefully in 2: his rubbing and copy of 3 give Σ. Iota adscript is absent.

Myrlea, renamed by Prusias Apameia after his wife, and now known as Moudania, was in ancient days, as now, a natural landing place for those who wanted to reach Prusa. The distance between the two towns as the crow flies is about ten miles: by rail or road, nearer twenty. Prusa itself is noted for its water-supply, and its baths were as famous in antiquity (Pliny, *Ep. to Tr.* xxiii) as to-day. Of the social history of Myrlea we know practically nothing. The inscriptions before us belong to the second century A.D. They indicate that there was an altar or temple at Myrlea to Asklepios, and that near his sanctuary, or through it, there flowed a stream of pure water artificially brought by a conduit (*διῶρυξ*), possibly from the medicinal stream running down from the springs at Brusa.

In 2 Asklepios is spoken of as the god of Epidauros and of Pergamon. Readers of Aristeides the Orator will fully appreciate the epithet *Περγαμηνῷ*.[3] A Roman named Caius Naevius Justus makes a free gift to the god of a 'stoa,' or colonnade, and the site on which he built it. This dedication he makes *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας*, *i.e.* probably he had escaped harm in an epidemic, and had attributed his immunity to the favour of the god. *Ἐπηκόῳ* suggests that it was in answer to prayer.[4] It may be noted that *διώρυγα* (line 6) is regarded as a less correct form than *διώρυχα*, while *οἰκοδομίαν* is certainly better Attic than *οἰκοδομήν* (cp. van Herwerden, *Lex. s.v.*).

3, which cannot be much later, and is perhaps earlier, than 2, is a dedication to the same deity, here called *Διωρυγείτης*, by one Gracchis Secundus, *ὑπὲρ ἰδίας σωτηρίας*. Probably he had lost one or both of his parents in an epidemic (*ὀρφανός*), and attributes his own safety to the favour of the god. The name Gracchis is unique, so far as I know. Happily the evidence of the marble is beyond question.

The Roman names remind us that Apameia (Myrlea) was a *colonia*: see Hardy's note on Apameia in his edition of *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*, p. 148, Ep. xlvii.

E. L. HICKS.

[3] Cp. Paus. ii. 26. 8 on the relation between the cults at Pergamon and Epidauros.

[4] Cp. also *Fouilles d'Epid.* p. 58, No. 140 and the Peiraeus inscr. Δελτ. 1888, p. 134, No. 20.

MONEMVASIA.

[PLATES XV., XVI.]

MONEMVASIA DURING THE FRANKISH PERIOD (1204–1540).

THERE are few places in Greece which possess the combined charms of natural beauty and of historic association to the same extent as Monemvasia. The great rock which rises out of the sea near the ancient Epidauros Limera is not only one of the most picturesque sites of the Peloponnese, but has a splendid record of heroic independence, which entitles it to a high place in the list of the world's fortresses (Figs. 1, 2). Monemvasia's importance is, however, wholly mediaeval; and its history has hitherto never been written; for the painstaking brochure of the patriotic Monemvasiote deputy and ex-Minister K. Papamichalópoulos, was composed before modern research rendered it possible to draw upon the original authorities at Venice and elsewhere. In the present paper I have endeavoured to state briefly what, in the present state of Greek mediaeval studies, is known about this interesting city during the Frankish period.

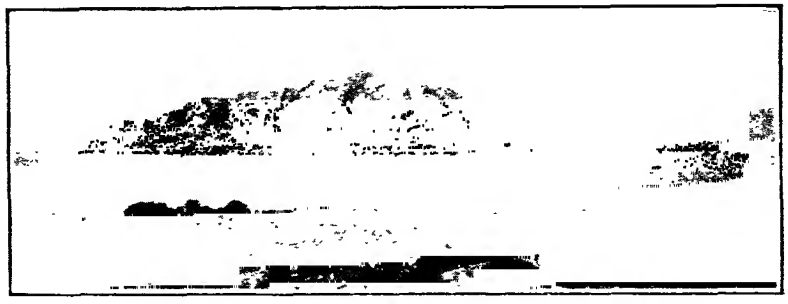


FIG. 1.—MONEMVASIA FROM THE LAND.
(*Photograph by Mrs. Muller.*)

At the time of the Frankish Conquest of the rest of Greece, Monemvasia was already a place of considerable importance. Even if we reject the statement of the fifteenth century historian, Phrantzês,[1] himself a native of the place, that the Emperor Maurice had raised it to the rank of the 34th Metropolitan see—a statement contradicted by an ecclesiastical document of 1397—we know at least that it was even then the seat of a Greek bishopric, whose holder remained a suffragan of Corinth[2] till the Latins captured the

[1] P. 398.

[2] Miklosich und Muller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, ii. 287; Dorotheos of Monemvasia, Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν (ed. 1814), 397.

latter city in 1210. The Comneni had confirmed the liberties of a community so favourably situated, and the local aristocracy of Monemvasia enjoyed the privilege of self-government. Thanks to the public spirit of its inhabitants, the wisdom of the local magnates, and the strength of its natural defences, which made it in the Middle Ages the Gibraltar of Greece, it had repelled the attack of the Normans from Sicily in the middle of the twelfth century. Fifty years later it was a busy sea-port town, whose ships were seen at the

FIG. 2.—MONEMVASIA. ENTRANCE TO KASTRO.
(*Photograph by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.*)

Piraeus by Michael Akominátos, the last Metropolitan of Athens before the Conquest, and whose great artistic treasure, the famous picture of Our Lord being 'dragged,' which has given its name to the 'Ελκόμενος church, attracted the covetousness of the Emperor Isaac II.[3]

As might have been expected from its position and history, Monemvasia was the last spot in the Peloponnese to acknowledge the Frankish supremacy. Geoffrey I. Villehardouin had contented himself perforce with sending a body

[3] Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου, ii. 137; Nikétas, 97, 581-92.

of troops to raid the country as far as the causeway, or *μόνη ἔμβασις*, which leads to the great rock-fortress and from which its name is derived;[4] and his son Geoffrey II. seems to have meditated the conquest of the place;[5] but it was reserved for the third of the Villehardouins, soldierly Prince William, to hoist the *croix ancrée* of his family over the 'sacred rock' of Hellenism, which was in uninterrupted communication by sea with the successor of Byzantium, the Greek Emperor of Nicaea,[6] and was therefore a constant source of annoyance to the Franks of the Peloponnese. The Prince, after elaborate preparations, began the siege in 1245. He summoned to his aid the great vassals of the Principality—Guy I. of Athens, who owed him allegiance for Nauplia and Argos; the three barons of Euboea; Angelo Sanudo, Duke of Naxos, with the other lords of the Cyclades, and the veteran Count Palatine of Cephalonia, Matteo Orsini, ruler of the island-realm of Odysseus.[7] But the Prince of Achaia saw that without the naval assistance of Venice, which had taken care that his principality should not become a sea-power, he could never capture the place. He accordingly obtained the aid of four Venetian galleys, and then proceeded to invest the great rock-fortress by land and water. For three long years the garrison held out, 'like a nightingale in its cage,' as the Chronicler quaintly says—and the simile is most appropriate, for the place abounds with those songsters—till all supplies were exhausted, and they had eaten the very cats and mice. Even then, however, they only surrendered on condition that they should be excused from all feudal services, except at sea, and should even in that case be paid. True to the conciliatory policy of his family, William wisely granted their terms, and then the three *archons* of Monemvasia, Mamonâs, Daimonoyánnes, and Sophianós, advanced along the narrow causeway to his camp and offered him the keys of their town. The conqueror received them with the respect of one brave man for another, loaded them with costly gifts, and gave them fiefs at Vatika near Cape Malea. A Frankish garrison was installed in the coveted fortress; and a Latin bishop, Oddo of Verdun, at last occupied the episcopal palace there, which had been his (on paper) ever since Innocent III.[8] had organised the Latin see of Monemvasia as one of the suffragans of Corinth.

The Frankish occupation lasted, however, only fourteen years, and has left no marks on the picturesque town. Buchon, indeed, who spied the Villehardouin arms on the Gorgoepekoos church at Athens, thought that he had discovered the famous *croix ancrée* on one of the churches.[9] He apparently meant the Ἑλκόμενος Church, which the late Sir T. Wyse called and Murray's *Handbook* still calls St. Peter's—a name not now known in Monemvasia, but derived perhaps from an inscription to a certain *Dominus Petrus*,

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[4] Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, l. 2065.

[5] *Ibid.* ll. 2630. 2644.

[6] *Ibid.* ll. 2765–9.

[7] *Ibid.* ll. 2891–6; Romanós, Γρατιανὸς Ζώρζης. 136. The French version of the 'Chronicle' omits the Naxian and Cephalonian contingents.

[8] *Epistolae*, vol. ii. p. 622; *Les Registres d'Innocent IV.* vol. iii. 306, 397.

[9] *La Grèce Continentale*, p. 412; Sir T. Wyse, *Excursion into the Peloponnesus*, i. 6. Cf. Mr. Tozer in *J.H.S.* iv. 233–6.

whose remains 'lie in peace' hard by. One church in the town, 'Our Lady of the Myrtle,' bears, it is true, a cross with anchored work below, and four stars above the door. But this church, as I was informed and as the name implies, was founded by people from Cerigo, whose patron saint is the *Παναγία Μυρτιδιώτισσα* (Pl. XV. A). The capture of the town by the Franks is, however, still remembered at Monemvasia, and local tradition points out the place on the mainland where Villehardouin left his cavalry. One pathetic event occurred at the rock during the brief Frankish period—the visit of the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II., in 1261, on his way from his lost capital to Italy.[10] In the following year Monemvasia was one of the castles ceded to his successor, the Emperor Michael VIII. Palaiológos, as the ransom of Prince William of Achaia, captured by the Greeks three years earlier after the fatal battle of Pelagonia.

The mediaeval importance of Monemvasia really dates from this retrocession to the Byzantine Emperor in 1262, when a Byzantine province was established in the south-east of the Morea. It not only became the seat of an Imperial governor, or *κεφαλή*, but it was the landing-place where the Imperial troops were disembarked for operations against the Franks, the port where the Tzákones and the *Gasmoúloi*, or half-castes, of the Peloponnese enlisted for service in the Greek navy. During the war which began in 1263 between Michael VIII. and his late captive, we accordingly frequently find it mentioned; it was thither that the Genoese transports in the Imperial service conveyed the Greek troops; it was thither, too, that the news of the first breach of the peace was carried post-haste, and thence communicated to Constantinople; it was there that the Imperial generals took up their headquarters at the outset of the campaign; and it was upon the Monemvasiotes that the combatants, when they were reconciled, agreed to lay the blame for the war.[11] Under the shadow of the Greek flag, Monemvasia became, too, one of the most dangerous lairs of corsairs in the Levant. The great local families did not disdain to enter the profession, and we read of both the Daimonoyánnai and the Mamonádes in the report of the Venetian judges, who drew up a long statement in 1278 of the depredations caused by pirates to Venetian commerce in the Levant. On one occasion the citizens looked calmly on while a flagrant act of piracy was being committed in their harbour, which, as the port of shipment for Malmsey wine, attracted corsairs who were also connoisseurs.[12] Moreover, the Greek occupation of so important a position was fatal to the Venetian lords of the neighbouring islands, no less than to Venetian trade in the Aegean. The chief sufferers were the two Marquesses of Cerigo and Cerigotto, members of the great families of Venier and Viaro, who had occupied those islands after the Fourth Crusade. It would appear from a confused passage of the Italian Memoir on Cerigo, that the islanders,

[10] Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, l. 1306; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, p. 27.

[11] *Les Registres d'Urbain IV.* ii. 100, 341; Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, ll. 1534, 1547, 1589, 1584, 1643, 5026, 5569, 5576.

[12] *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. ii. B. xiv. 164, 192-3, 204, 215, 220, 226, 248.

impatient at the treatment which they received from their Latin lord, the descendant, as he boasted, of the island-goddess Venus herself, sent a deputation to invoke the aid of the Greek governor of the new Byzantine province in the Morea.[13] At any rate, the famous cruise of Licario, the upstart Italian of Negroponte who went over to the Greeks, temporarily ended the rule of the Venetian Marquesses. A governor was sent to Cerigo from Monemvasia: but ere long Michael VIII. conferred that island upon the eminent Monemvasiote *archon*, Paul Monoyánnes, who is described in a Venetian document as being in 1275 'the vassal of the Emperor and captain of Cerigo.' Monoyánnes fortified the island, where his tomb was discovered during the British protectorate, and it remained in the possession of his family till 1309, when intermarriage between the children of its Greek and Latin lords restored Cerigo to the Venieri.[14]

The Byzantine Emperors naturally rewarded a community so useful to them as that of Monemvasia. Michael VIII. granted its citizens valuable fiscal exemptions; his pious son and successor, Andrónikos II. not only confirmed their privileges and possessions, but founded the church of the Divine Wisdom which still stands in the castle. The adjoining cloister has fallen in ruins; the Turks after 1540 converted the church, like the more famous Santa Sophia of Constantinople, into a mosque, the *mihrab* of which may still be traced, and smashed all the heads of the saints which once adorned the church —an edifice reckoned as ancient even in the days of the Venetian occupation, when a Monemvasiote family had the *jus patronatus* over it (Pl. XV. B). But a fine Byzantine plaque over the door—two peacocks and two lambs—still preserves the memory of the Byzantine connexion. Of Andrónikos II. we have, too, another Monemvasiote memorial—the Golden Bull of 1293, by which he gave to the Metropolitan the title of 'Exarch of all the Peloponnesos,' with jurisdiction over eight bishoprics, some, it is true, still *in partibus infidelium*, as well as the titular Metropolitan throne of Side, and confirmed all the rights and property of his diocese, which was raised to be the tenth of the Empire and extended, at any rate on paper, right across the peninsula to 'Pylos, which is called Avarinos'—a convincing proof of the error made by Hopf in supposing that the name of Navarino arose from the Navarrese company a century later. The Emperor lauds in this interesting document, which bears his portrait and is still preserved in the National Library and (in a copy) in the Christian Archaeological Museum at Athens, the convenience and safe situation of the town, the number of its inhabitants, their affluence and their technical skill, their seafaring qualities, and their devotion to his throne and person. His grandson and namesake, Andrónikos III. in 1332, granted them freedom from market-dues at the Peloponnesian fairs.[15] But a city so prosperous was sure to attract the covetous glances of enemies.

[13] *Antique Memorie di Cerigo*, *apud* Sáthas, Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, vi. 301.

[14] Sanudo, *Istoria del Regno*, *apud* Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-romanes*, 127; *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. ii. B. xiv. 181; Sansovino, *Cronologia del Mondo*, fol. 185: Hopf *apud* Ersch und Gruber, lxxxv. 310.

[15] Miklosich und Muller, *op. cit.* v. 155–61; Phrantzès, 399, 400; Dorotheos of Monemvasia, Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν, 400.

Accordingly, in 1292, Roger de Lluria, the famous admiral of King James of Aragon, on the excuse that the Emperor had failed to pay the subsidy promised by his father to the late King Peter, descended upon Monemvasia, and sacked the lower town without a blow. The *archons* and the people took refuge in the impregnable citadel, leaving their property and their Metropolitan in the power of the enemy.[16] Ten years later, another Roger, Roger de Flor, the leader of the Catalan Grand Company, put into Monemvasia on his way to the East on that memorable expedition which was destined to ruin 'the pleasaunce of the Latins' in the Levant. On this occasion the Catalans were naturally on their good behaviour. Monemvasia belonged to their new employer, the Emperor Andrónikos; it had been stipulated that they should receive the first instalment of their pay there; and Muntaner[17] tells us that the Imperial authorities gave them a courteous reception and provided them with refreshments, including probably a few barrels of the famous Malmsey.

Monemvasia fortunately escaped the results of the Catalan expedition, which proved so fatal to the Duchy of Athens and profoundly affected the North and West of the Morea. Indeed, in the early part of the fourteenth century the corsairs of the great rock seemed to have actually seized the classic island of Salamis under the eyes of the Catalan rulers of Athens, whose naval forces in the Saronic Gulf had been purposely crippled by the jealous Venetian Government. At any rate we find Salamis, which had previously belonged to Bonifacio da Verona, the baron of Karystos in Euboea, and had passed with the hand of his daughter and heiress to Alfonso Fadrique, the head of the terrible Catalan Company in Attica, now paying tribute to the Byzantine governor of Monemvasia.[18] When, however, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the Greeks began to recover most of the Peloponnese, the city which had been so valuable to them in the earlier days of the reconquest of the Morea had to compete with formidable rivals. In 1397, when Theodore I. Palaiológos obtained, after a desperate struggle, the great fortress of Corinth, which had been his wife's dowry from her father, Nerio Acciajuoli, his first act was to restore the Metropolitan see of that ancient city, and the first demand of the restored Metropolitan was for the restitution to him by his brother of Monemvasia of the two suffragan bishoprics of Zemenós and Maina, which had been given to the latter's predecessor after the Latin conquest of Corinth.[19] This demand was granted, and we are not surprised to hear that the Monemvasiotes were disaffected to the Despot, under whom such a slight had been cast upon their Church. The Moreat *archons* at this period were intensely independent of the Despot of Mistrâ, even though the latter was the brother of the Emperor. The most unruly of them all was Paul Mamonâs of Monemvasia, who

[16] *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 363; *Libro de los Fechos*, 107; Muntaner, *Crónica*, ch. 117. Bartholomaeus de Neocastro and Nicolaus Specialis *apud* Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* xiii. 1187; x. 959.

[17] Chs. 199, 201.

[18] Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, i. 127.

[19] Miklosich und Müller, *l.c.*

belonged to the great local family which had been to the fore in the days of Villehardouin. This man held the office of 'Grand-Duke' or Lord High Admiral in the Byzantine hierarchy of officials and claimed the hereditary right to rule as an independent princelet over his native city, of which his father had been Imperial governor. When Theodore asserted his authority, and expelled the haughty *archon*, the latter did not hesitate to arraign him before the supreme authority of those degenerate days—the Sultan Bajazet I. who ordered his immediate restoration by Turkish troops—a humiliation alike for the Greek Despot and for the sacred city of Hellenism.[20] Theodore had, indeed, at one time thought of bestowing so unruly a community upon a Venetian of tried merit; and, in 1419, after the death of Paul's son, the Republic appears actually to have come into possession of the coveted rock and its surroundings—then a valuable commercial asset because of the Malmsey which was still produced there.[21]

It was at this period that Monemvasia produced two men of letters, George Phrantzês and the Monk Isidore. To the latter we owe a series of letters, one of which, addressed to the Emperor Manuel II. on the occasion of his famous visit to the Morea in 1415, describes his pacification of Maina and his abolition of the barbarous custom of cutting off the fingers and toes of the slain, which the Mainates had inherited from the Greeks of Aeschylus and Sophocles. He also alludes to the Greek inscriptions which he saw at Vitylo.[22] Of Phrantzês, the historian of the Turkish conquest, the secretary and confidant of the Palaiológoi, the clever if somewhat unscrupulous diplomatist, who, after a busy life, lies buried in the quiet church of SS. Jason and Sosipater at Corfù, it is needless to speak. In the opinion of the writer, Phrantzês should hold a high place in Byzantine history. His style is clear and simple, compared with that of his contemporary Chalkokondýles, the ornate Herodotus of the new Persian Conquest; he knew men and things; he was no mere theologian or rhetorician, but a man of affairs; and he wrote with a *naïveté*, which is as amusing as it is surprising in one of his profession. Monemvasia may be proud of having produced such a man, who has placed in his history a glowing account of his birthplace. We hear too in 1540 of a certain George, called 'Count of Corinth' but a native of Monemvasia, who had a fine library, and among the many Peloponnesian calligraphists, the so-called 'Murmures,' found later on in Italy there were some Monemvasiotes.[23]

The Venetians did not, on this occasion, long retain Monemvasia. A few years later we find it in the possession of the Despot Theodore II. Palaiológos,[24] who ratified its ancient privileges. All the Despot's subjects, whether freemen or serfs, were permitted to enter or leave this important

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[20] Phrantzês, 57: Manuel Palaiológos, *Theodori Despoti Laudatio Funebris*, *apud* Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, clvi. 228–9; Chalkokondyles, 80.

[21] *Misti*, liii. fol. 44, 256; lvi. fol. 76 v., cited by Hopf. *op. cit.* lxxxvi, 79.

[22] Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, i. 269; ii. 181.

[23] Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca*, 81, 99; Ἑλληνομνήμων, 336–46.

[24] Miklosich und Müller, v. 171–4; Παρνασσός, vii. 472–6.

city without let or hindrance, except only the dangerous denizens of Tzakonia and Vatika, whose character had not altered in the two hundred years which had elapsed since the time of Villehardouin. The citizens, their beasts, and their ships were exempt from forced labour; and, at their special request, the Despot confirmed the local custom, by which all the property of a Monemvasiote who died without relatives was devoted to the repair of the castle; while, if he had only distant relatives, one-third of his estate was reserved for that purpose (Pl. XVI. A). This system of death duties (*τὸ ἀβιωτίκιον*, as it was called) was continued by Theodore's brother and successor, Demetrios, by whom Monemvasia was described as 'one of the most useful cities under my rule.'[25] Such, indeed, he found it to be, when, in 1458, Mohammed II. made his first punitive expedition into the Morea. On the approach of the great Sultan, the Despot fled to the rock of Monemvasia. It was the ardent desire of the Conqueror to capture that famous fortress, 'the strongest of all cities that we know,' as the contemporary Athenian historian, Chalkokondýles,[26] called it. But his advisers represented to him the difficult nature of the country which he would have to traverse, so he prudently desisted from the enterprise. Two years later, when Mohammed II. visited the Morea a second time and finally destroyed Greek rule in that peninsula, Monemvasia again held out successfully. After sheltering Demetrios against an attack from his treacherous brother Thomas, the town gave refuge to the wife and daughter of the former. Demetrios had, however, promised to give his daughter in marriage to the great Sultan; and Isa, son of the Pasha of Uskub, and Matthew Asan, the Despot's brother-in-law, were accordingly sent to demand the surrender of the city and of the two princesses, whom it contained. The Monemvasiotes did, indeed, hand over the two Imperial ladies to the envoys of the Sultan and the Despot; but, relying on their immense natural defences, animated by the sturdy spirit of independence which had so long distinguished them, and inspired by the example of their governor, Manuel Palaiológos, they bade them tell Mohammed not to lay sacrilegious hands on a city which God had meant to be invincible. The Sultan is reported to have admired their courage, and wisely refrained from attacking the impregnable fortress of mediaeval Hellenism. As Demetrios was the prisoner of the Sultan, the Governor proclaimed Thomas as his liege-lord: but the latter, a fugitive from Greece, was incapable of maintaining his sovereignty and tried to exchange it with the Sultan for another sea-side place.[27] A passing Catalan corsair, one Lope de Baldaja, was then invited to occupy the rock; but the liberty-loving inhabitants soon drove out the petty tyrant whom they had summoned to their aid, and, with the consent of Thomas, placed their city under the protection of his patron, the Pope. Pius II. gladly appointed both spiritual and temporal governors of the fortress which had so long been the stronghold

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[25] *Ibid.* iii. 258.

[26] P. 447.

[27] Chalkokondýles, 476, 485; Phrantzes, 396–97; Spandugino (ed. 1551), 14 5.

of Orthodoxy, and of that nationalism with which Orthodoxy was identical.[28]

But the papal flag did not wave long over Monemvasia. The Orthodox Greeks soon grew tired of forming part of the Pope's temporal dominion, and preferred the rule of Venice, the strongest maritime power interested in the Levant, whose governors were well known to be 'first Venetians and then Catholics.' The outbreak of the Turco-Venetian War of 1463, and the appearance of a Venetian fleet in the Aegean, gave the citizens their opportunity. The Pope, as Phrantzês informs us, had no wish to give up the place; but he was far away, his representative was feeble, the flag of Venice was for the moment triumphant in Greek waters, and accordingly in 1463 or 1464, the inhabitants admitted a Venetian garrison. On September 21, 1464, the Senate made provision for the government of this new dependency. A *Podestà* was to be elected for two years at an annual salary of 500 gold ducats, this salary to be paid every three months out of the revenues of the newly-conquered island of Lemnos. Six months later, it was decreed that in case there was no money available for the purpose at Lemnos, the *Podestà* should receive his salary from the Cretan treasury.[29] From that time to 1540 Monemvasia remained a Venetian colony. Once, indeed, a plot was organised in the ancient city of the Palaiólogoi for the purpose of wresting the place from the claws of the Lion of St. Mark. Andrew Palaiológos, the still more degenerate son of the degenerate Thomas, had, in 1494, transferred all his Imperial rights and claims to King Charles VIII. of France, then engaged in his expedition to Naples, in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio at Rome. In accordance with this futile arrangement, his partisans at Monemvasia, where the Imperial name of Palaiológos was still popular, schemed to deliver the city to his French ally.[30] But the plans of Charles VIII, and with them the plot at Monemvasia, came to nought. Venice remained mistress of the Virgin fortress.

Down to the peace of 1502–3, Monemvasia seems to have been fairly prosperous under Venetian rule. By the Turco-Venetian treaty of 1479 she had been allowed to retain the dependency of Vatika[31] in the neighbourhood of Cape Malea, which had been captured from the Turks in 1463, and where her citizens had long possessed property. But the territories of Monemvasia were terribly restricted after the next Turco-Venetian war: she had then lost her outlying castles of Rampano and Vatika, from which the ecclesiastical authorities derived much of their dues; and we find the inhabitants petitioning the Republic for the redress of their grievances, and pointing out

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[28] Magno, *Annali Veneti, apud* Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-romanes*. 203–4; *Pii II. Commentari*, 103–104.

[29] Phrantzês, 415; Magno, 204; Sáthas. vi. 95; Chalkokondýles, 556. Regina, fol. 52, 56 (for a copy of which I am indebted to Mr. Horatio F. Brown: see Appendix). The actual date is uncertain; Phrantzês and Magno give 1464, and the Venetian document above-quoted points to that year; but Malatesta's secretary in his account of the war (Sáthas, *l.c.*) puts it in 1463, before the siege of Corinth.

[30] Sanudo, *Diarii*, i. 703.

[31] Piedelli, *Commemoriali*, v. 228–30, 238–9, 241; Miklosich u. Müller, *op. cit.* iii. 293–309.

that this last delimitation of their frontiers had deprived them of the lands which they had been wont to sow. The rock itself produced nothing, and accordingly all their supplies of corn had now to be imported through the Turkish possessions.[32] As for the famous vintage, which had been the delight of Western connoisseurs, it was no longer produced at Malvasia, for the Turks did not cultivate the vineyards which were now in their hands, and most of the so-called 'Malmsey,' *nihil de Malfasia habens sed nomen*, as worthy Father Faber says, had for some time come from Crete or Modon,[33] till the latter place, too, became Turkish. But, in spite of these losses, Monemvasia still remained what she had been for centuries—an impregnable fortress, the

FIG. 3.—KASTRO.
(*Photograph by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.*)

Gibraltar of Greece. The Venetians renewed the system, which had prevailed under the Despots of the Morea, of devoting one of the local imposts to the repair of the walls; the Venetian *Podestà*, who lived, like the military governor, up in the castle, seems to have been a popular official; and the Republic had wisely confirmed the special privileges granted by the Byzantine Emperors to the Church and Community of this favoured city (Fig. 3). Both a Greek Metropolitan and a Latin Archbishop continued to take their titles from Monemvasia, and the most famous of these prelates was the eminent Greek scholar, Marcus Mousoûros. It is interesting to note that in 1521

[32] Sáthas, Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, iv. 230; Sanudo, *Diarii*, xxix. 482.

[33] Feyerabend, *Reissbuch des Heiligen Landes*, fol. 182; Faber, *Evagatorium*, iii. 314. The name was so long preserved that a wine-shop in Venetian dialect was called 'Malvasia.'

Pope Leo X. had a scheme for founding an academy for the study of the Greek language out of the revenues of whichever of these sees first fell vacant, as Arsénios Apostóles, at that time Metropolitan, was a learned Greek and a Uniate, and in both capacities a prime favourite of the classically cultured Pontiff. In 1524, however, despite the thunders of the Oecumenical Patriarch, the Greek and the Italian prelates agreed among themselves that the former should retain the see of Monemvasia and that the latter should take a Cretan diocese.[34] The connexion between 'the great Greek island' and this rocky peninsula was now close. The Greek priests of Crete, who had formerly gone to the Venetian colonies of Modon and Coron for consecration, after the loss of those colonies in 1500 came to Monemvasia; the Cretan exchequer continued to contribute to the expenses of the latter; and judicial appeals from the *Podestà* of Malmsey lay to the colonial authorities at Candia, instead of being remitted to Venice; for, as a Monemvasiote deputation once plaintively said, the expenses of the long journey had been defrayed by pawning the chalices of the churches. Even now Monemvasia is remote from the world; in those Venetian days she was seldom visited, not only because of her situation, but because of the fear which ships captains had of her inhabitants.[35]

The humiliating peace of 1540, which closed the Turco-Venetian war of 1537, closed also the history of Venice in the Morea till the brief revival at the close of the seventeenth century. This shameful treaty cost the Republic her two last possessions on the mainland of Greece—Nauplia and Monemvasia, both still uncaptured and the latter scarcely assailed by the Turkish forces.[36] Admiral Mocenigo was sent to break as best he could to her loyal subjects the sad news that the Republic had abandoned their homes to the Turks. The Venetian envoy, if we may believe the speech which Paruta puts into his mouth, repeated to the weeping people the ancient adage, *ubi bene, ibi patria*, and pointed out to them that they would be better off in a new abode less exposed than their native cities had been to the Turkish peril. In November a Venetian fleet arrived in the beautiful bay of Nauplia and off the sacred rock of Monemvasia to remove the soldiers, the artillery, and all the inhabitants who wished to live under Venetian rule. Then the banner of the Evangelist was lowered, the keys of the two last Venetian fortresses in the Morea were handed to Kassim Pasha, and the receipts for their transfer were sent to Venice.[37]

The inhabitants of the two cities had been loyal to Venice, and Venice was loyal to them. The first idea of transporting the Monemvasiotes to the rocky island of Cerigo—then partly a Venetian colony and partly under the rule of the great Venetian family of Venier, which boasted its descent from Venus, the fabled goddess of Kythera—was abandoned, in deference

[34] Sanudo, *Diarii*, vii. 714; xxiii. 536; xxiv. 669; xxv. 64; xxix. 402; xxxi. 227; xxxv. 363; xliv. 475; lv. 296; Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, iii. 56.

[35] Sanudo, *Diarii*, xi. 349; xxxiii. 366; Sáthas, iv. 224, 227, 229, 234; Lamansky, *Les Secrets de l'Etat de Venise*. p. 059; Feyerabend, *op. cit.* fol. 112.

[36] Predelli, *Commemoriali*, vi. 236, 238.

[37] Paruta, *Historia Venetiana*, i. 451–3.

to the eloquent protests of the Metropolitan, and lands were assigned to the exiles in the more fertile colonies of the Republic. A commission of five nobles was appointed to consider the claims, and provide for the settlement, of the *stradioti*, or light horsemen from Nauplia and Monemvasia, who had fought like heroes against the Turks; and this commission sat for several years, for the claimants were numerous and not all genuine.[38] Some, like the ancient local family of Daimonoyánnes, formerly lords of Cerigo, received lands in Crete,[39] where various members of the Athenian branch of the great Florentine family of the Medici, which had been settled for two hundred years at Nauplia, also found a home. Others were removed to Corfù, where they soon formed an integral part of the Corfiote population and where the name of these *Stradioti* is still preserved in a locality of the island; while others again were transplanted to Cephalonia, Cyprus, or Dalmatia. Not a few of them were soon, however, smitten with homesickness; they sold their new lands and returned to be Turkish subjects at Nauplia and Monemvasia.[40]

The Venetian fortifications; the old Venetian pictures on the eikonostasis of the Ἑλκόμενος church: the quaint Italian chimneys, and the well-head up

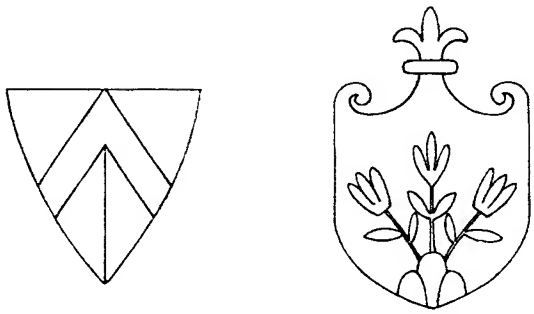

FIG. 4.—ARMS ON WELL-HEAD IN THE CASTLE.
(*Sketch by Mrs. Miller.*)

in the castle, which bears the winged lion of St. Mark, two private coats of arms, the date MDXIV and the initials S R upon it, the latter those of Sebastiano Renier, *Podestà* from 1510 to 1512, still speak to us of this first Venetian occupation, when the ancient Byzantine city, after the brief vicissitudes of French and Papal government, found shelter for nearly eighty years beneath the flag of the Evangelist (Pl. XVI. B and Fig. 4).

WILLIAM MILLER.

[38] Lami, *Deliciae Eruditorum*, xv. 203; Sathas, *op. cit.* viii. 310-3, 320-1, 335, 344, 377-8, 441-3.

[39] *Ibid.* 342, 413, 450, 454.

[40] *Ibid.* 396.

APPENDIX.

Two Venetian Documents relating to the Acquisition of Monemvasia in 1464.

I.—*Regina* fol. 52.

MCCCCLXIIIJ indictione xij.

Die xxi Septembris.

Cum per gratiam omnipotentis Dei acquista sit in partibus grecie insula Staliminis dives et opulenta in qua sunt tres terre cum Castellis viz Cochinum, Mudrum et Paleocastrum que tempore pacis reddere solent ducatos circa x^m. Item etiam Civitas Malvasie sita in Amorea. Ad quorum locorum bonam gubernationem et conservationem sub obedientia nostri Dominii providendum est de rectoribus et camerariis e venetiis mittendis tam pro populis regendis et jure reddendo quam pro introitibus earum bene gubernandis et non perdendis sicut hucusque dicitur esse factum . . . .

Eligatur per quattuor manus electionum in maiori consilio unus potestas Malvasie cum salario ducatorum V. auri in anno, sit per duos annos tantum : et habeat salarium liberum cum prerogativis et exemptionibus rectoris Staliminis et similiter in contumacia sua. Debeat habere duos famulos et tres equos et recipiat salarium suum ab insula Staliminis de tribus mensibus in tres menses ante tempus.

†De parte	474
De non	14
Non syncere	9

Die xvij Septembris mcccclxiiij in conselio di xl^ta.

De parte	26
De non	0
Non sync.	1

II.—*Regina* fol. 56.

Die iij Marcii 1465.

Captum est in maiori Consilio : Quod Rector monouasie elegendus de tribus in tres menses habere debeat salarium suum a loco nostro stalimnis et quum facile accidere posset per magnas impensas quas idem stalimnis locus habet quod inde salarium ipsum suum habere non posset . . . Vadit pars quod in quantum idem rector noster monouasie a Stalimnis insula salarium ipsum suum habere non posset juxta formam presentis electionis sue a camera nostra crete illud percipere debeat sicuti conueniens et honestum est de tribus in tres menses juxta formam presentis ipsius.

†De parte	573
De non	39
Non syncere	42

W. M.

THE CENTRAL GROUPS OF THE PARTHENON PEDIMENTS.

THERE is probably no subject in Greek archaeology which has afforded material for so much discussion as the identification and arrangement of the sculptures of the Parthenon, and at first sight it may seem presumptuous at this time of day to bring forward new views. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that discussion cannot be wholly fruitless, even if it does no more than bring us closer into touch with the work of Pheidias; and even this well-worn path is not a mere wandering up and down, but sometimes leads us farther. If it is vouchsafed to us by taking thought only to add one small fragment to the Frieze, the labour is not in vain. And so I have the less hesitation in returning once more to the question of the central groups of the two Pediments of the Parthenon.

Discussion on these two subjects has entered (as I shall hope to shew) on a new phase since the discovery was recently made that we must remove one of the figures commonly assigned to the East Pediment and place it in the West. It is now, I believe, generally admitted that the supposed Nike of the East Pediment does not belong to that Pediment at all, but is the figure shewn in Carrey's drawing as in the West Pediment, next behind the Poseidon. Mr. Arthur Smith has recently found among Lord Elgin's papers at Broome Hall two further letters from Lusieri and Dr. Hunt, which make it finally clear that the torso in question was found beneath the West Pediment. A summary of the evidence, which seems to carry conviction, is given in the new edition of the Parthenon *Guide*, p. 32.

That being so, it is fairly obvious that this torso cannot be identified any longer as Nike; for what should Victory be doing in the train of the opponent of the victorious Athena? Studniczka (*Jahrb.* 1904, p. 10) suggests that the figure is Iris, communicating to the disputants the will of Zeus. But the same objection applies equally here: in a composition where, as we know, every detail had its value both as composition and also in relation to the subject represented, what significance could there be in giving Iris such a place? The hurried movement of the figure suggests that she is advancing against Athena; in any case both her position and her action would be appropriate to Eris, the personification of strife; and if so, the expression used by Pausanias in describing this Pediment acquires a new force when he speaks of the 'Eris of Poseidon against Athena.'

This, however, is beside the present purpose: the fact remains that this very reasonable innovation leaves us without a figure of Victory in either Pediment.

And yet, when we consider the requirements of the case, and the Athenian habit of mind in relation to these subjects, as we can judge of it from contemporary monuments, we must see that at this period, in the representation of any of the strenuous moments of her being, the presence of Nike is essential. On the Frieze, in the peaceful sociability of Athena's surroundings, her helmet and spear are cast aside; but wherever her panoply is donned, Nike cannot be far away. Even in the other, the pacific rendering of the dispute between Athene and Poseidon, as shewn, for instance, in the Smyrna relief (*Ath. Mitth.* 1882, Pl. I., Fig. 2), it is Nike who counts the votes: and in an Athenian monument of the importance of the Parthenon it is hardly probable that so essential a feature should be omitted.

A curious illustration of this tendency is shewn in a red-figure vase in the British Museum (E 410). It dates probably from the latter part of the first half of the fifth century, and is therefore before the date of the Parthenon. Here the birth is represented in the old traditional way, with the miniature Athena leaping from Zeus's head: the artist has felt so strongly the necessity of introducing Nike somehow that he draws her on the extreme margin of the scene, and in defiance of the unities represents her as nearly twice the size of Athena herself.

The necessity of Nike's presence in the West Pediment was felt long ago by the early commentators; thus Visconti identified the figure who drives the chariot of Athena as a 'wingless Victory,' but that is a type which is unfamiliar to the artists of the Pheidian period.

There is yet another reason why Nike must be predicated for the Pediments. In the pedimental compositions of the fifth century, so far as we have them, tradition demanded (as, for instance, at Olympia and Aegina) that the culminating point of interest should concentrate in a single figure in the centre, occupying almost the entire height from floor to apex. Sauer's examination of the marks of attachment in the floors of the Pediment shews conclusively that Pheidias adopted a different principle: in each Pediment we have two important figures balancing each other on each side of the apex. In the East Pediment Zeus and Athena balance as they do in the Frieze; in the West, Athena and Poseidon. But this arrangement leaves a gap in the apex which must be filled.

What is more important still, we are left in doubt as to which is the predominant figure of the composition. In the temple of Athena it would surely be made clear that it is the goddess herself, and not Poseidon or even Zeus, who holds the pride of place.

Both these difficulties are overcome by the introduction of a small figure of Nike—not so large as to make her structurally difficult to insert, or to give her undue importance, but such as would shew clearly, by her inclination towards Athena, that here is the important moment of time and place. In both Pediments the rhythm and flow of the composition takes

the eye inevitably from the angles to the apex: and here in the crown and summit of things, though the balance till now, as it were, was even, the little satellite of Athena, who herself is Athena Nike, comes with no uncertain voice to decide the issue

Fig. 1.—Scheme of Restoration of Central Group of the E. Pediment (after Furtwangler-Reichhold, Pl. 20), with Sauer's Plan of the Floor below.

In the East Pediment there is a certain appropriateness in the introduction of a miniature figure at this point: as we see from the vase pictures, tradition before Pheidias's time demanded a seated Zeus with a miniature Athena springing from his head. Whether Pheidias was or was not the inventor of the new scheme adopted in the East Pediment, it was, we know,

an innovation; and it is possible that Pheidias may have felt that the small Nike here would be, as it were, a concession to artistic tradition.

In the West Pediment, again, a Nike introduced to mark the issue obviates a difficulty which has always been felt. Petersen, for instance

FIG. 2.—SCHEME OF RESTORATION OF CENTRAL GROUP OF THE W. PEDIMENT: AFTER THE KERTCH VASE (EXTANT FRAGMENTS INSERTED); SAUER'S PLAN OF THE FLOOR BELOW.

(*Hermes*, 1882, p. 131), expressed the belief that Pheidias had succeeded in rendering victory and defeat in the action of the two deities without recourse to the presence of judges, which he regards as unfitted for sculpture, although the later literature assigned as judges the twelve gods or the Athenian people; but the attitude of the groups on either side (as A. S. Murray pointed out) is

certainly not judicial. One has only to look at Schwerzek's restoration of the Pediment to see how meaningless the whole composition becomes when explained in this way and with no central Nike.

Let us now turn to the monuments, and see how far the introduction of Nike is borne out by them. But first I should like to remark in passing that there is one class of remains which has, I think, been somewhat neglected in this connection. I mean vase paintings. The Kertch vase (which I shall come to presently) is mostly regarded as telling us little of the Pheidian West Pediment, although it remains the only authority we have for it. There is one class of Attic vases in particular, which date from just after Pheidias, and which, oddly enough, are nearly all found in the Crimea, which are full of suggestions of motives directly or indirectly borrowed from the Parthenon. I see no reason why the humbler handicraftsmen who painted the vases should not have been proud to reproduce the sculptural types which were their national glory. I believe we shall find that this track is worth following and I have here one or two examples which at least seem to throw light on the central group of the East Pediment.

First, however, in order to recall the composition that we may expect, let me call attention to the marble well-head from Madrid, which is now generally accepted as giving the most satisfactory rendering of the main features of Pheidias's composition. The positions of Zeus and Athena are shewn by the marks still existing in the floor of the Pediment to be approximately identical, but the question of comparative scale raises a difficulty. The head of Zeus, though he is seated, is on the same level as that of Athena, so that if he stood up he would be on a much larger scale. But the artist of the puteal is only following out the principle of isocephalism commonly observed in all frieze composition, and especially so in the Frieze of the Parthenon. It does not at all follow—indeed, it is extremely unlikely, that the same principle would be observed in a pedimental composition in the round, for the carefully adjusted balance of right and left, a balance minutely calculated in every other group of the Pediment, would thereby be upset.

The true arrangement (Fig. 1) is shewn on a vase picture (Furtwangler-Reichhold Taf. 20) in which, though the subject is not the Birth of Athena, the central group is clearly a reproduction of the Pheidian. The types of Zeus and of Athena are both precisely what we should expect of Pheidias: note especially the helmet of Athena and the gorgeous woven peplos that she wears. And one sees at once how admirably the whole is adapted to the requirements of the centre of a pediment. As, however, the vase artist is not confined, as the sculptor was, to an angle on the upper border, he has probably slightly modified his Nike, who would naturally (as on the puteal) have flown more directly towards Athena. The figure of Athena, on the other hand, which in the puteal moves rapidly to the right, is here in a more probable position.

A curious detail of perspective, by the way, is worth noting: the vase artist for no apparent reason has drawn the underside of Zeus's throne in

such a way as it would be seen from below. Is it possible that this is due to the fact that the artist was actually so copying the pedimental group from below?

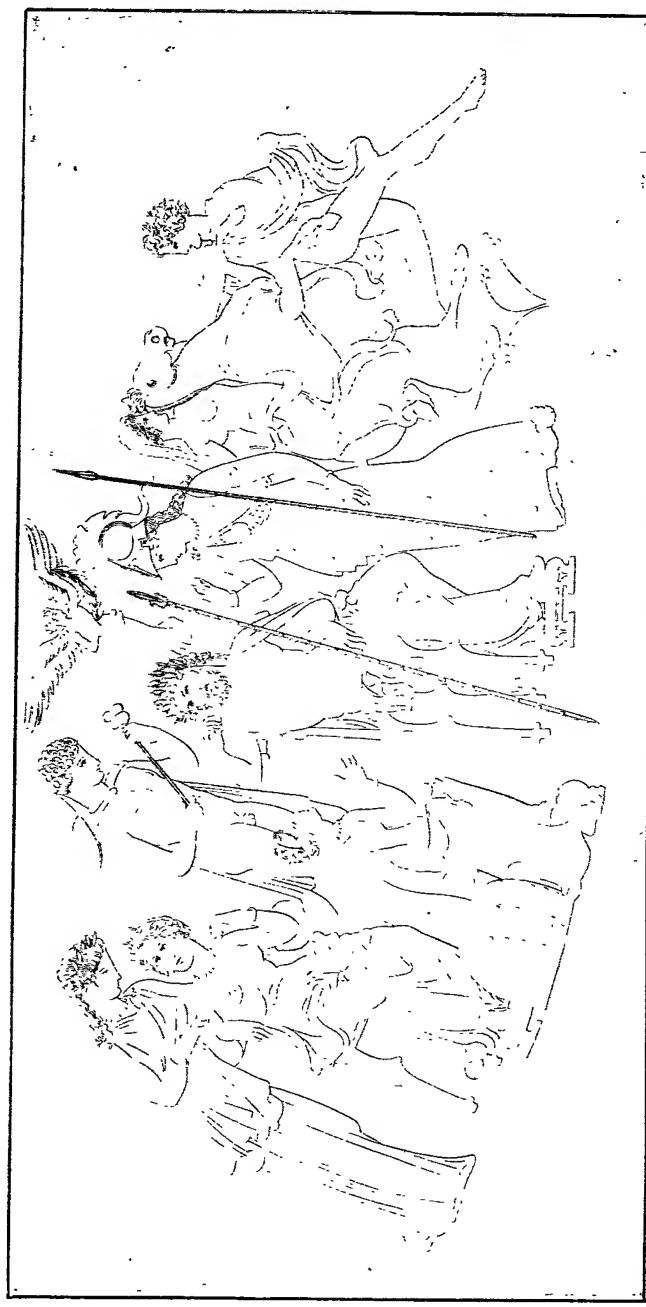

Fig. 3.

A slight modification of the same group appears on another contemporary vase (Fig. 3[1]), where Nike is shewn in what is more likely to have been

[1] From *Comptes Rendus de la Comm. Imp. Archéol.* 1860, Pl. II.

her true direction. An interesting feature of this vase is the introduction of other Pheidian motives, which though modified are unmistakeable. On the right we have a woman riding on a horse, which naturally suggests the Nyx or Selene of the right-hand angle of the Pediment; and on the left a group of three women, who in their relative positions strongly suggest the group of the three Fates.

Turning now to the West Pediment (Fig. 2), the most complete document we have is the drawing made in 1683 for the Marquis de Nointel. The drawing is badly executed and the figures overcrowded, but it gives a good general idea of the central group. Comparing this with the vase from Kertch, we see how closely the artist has followed his original: the miniature temple in the corner (a most unusual feature in a vase painting) can, I think, be nothing else than the artist's shorthand method of acknowledging the source of his design. It will be noted that Athena turns partly away from her adversary, and both are very definitely striking downwards: probably Pheidias would have wished to make it clear that the high gods are not engaged in turning their weapons against each other. The existence of the olive tree is attested by fragments that remain; and like a bird out of its branches comes the little Nike with the victor's wreath or riband for Athena. Whatever the relative positions of the two Nikai in East and West may have been, it is clear that there was scope for the avoidance of sameness in a comparison, just as in the general composition there is general responsion with contrast of detail: so the one Nike flies free from the apex with partial inclination to the right; the other flies with inclination to the left out of the branches of an olive tree. The group of Athena and Nike reappear on another vase of the same series.

The question that now remains is a practical one: Have we any fragments which can be identified with these two Nikai, and how were the figures attached?

As regards the second point, the question has been considered by Dorpfeld, a practical authority, who sees no inherent difficulty as regards the East Pediment in supporting a Nike on metal standards which would be cramped to the tympanum or floor: in the West Pediment the olive tree would give plenty of scope for the concealment of such cramps. If the figures of Nike were of marble, it is possible that among the fragments of large and small wings in the Acropolis Museum which are said to belong to the Pediment sculptures portions of their wings may yet be found. I am inclined to think that the Nikai may have been of some other material, such as bronze—among the many bronze enrichments of the sculptures throughout the Parthenon such a material for a small figure would not be out of place; and in the vase pictures of the time the practice commonly occurs of detaching this class of figure (Eros or Nike), when in a central position, by a wash of white or of gold.

CECIL SMITH.

THROWING THE JAVELIN.

[PLATES XVII–XX.]

A.—*The Javelin and the Amentum.*

THE javelin used in Greek sports is called variously *ἄκων*, *ἀκόντιον*, *μεσάγκυλον*, *σίγυννος*, *ἀποτομάς*. The latter term, defined by Hesychius as *σχίζαν καὶ ἀκόντιον πεντάθλου*, appears to denote merely a lath or stick, and apparently describes the javelin as represented on the vases. It is merely a straight pole, in length nearly equal to the height of a man, though occasionally longer, and about the thickness of a finger. It is one of the commonest objects in palaestra scenes, whether in use, or carried in the hand, or planted in the ground singly or in pairs apparently to mark the line from which the athlete is to jump or throw the diskos.[1] These rods were formerly described as jumping poles; but of the pole jump there is no evidence, and the fact that they are precisely similar to javelins which are actually being thrown, and that they often have the throwing-strap or amentum attached, proves that they are nothing more than javelins. At the same time there is no reason why they should not have served as measuring-rods or *κανόνες* for measuring the jump, a use which is perhaps represented on the British Museum kelebe B. 361, published in vol. xxiv. of this journal, p. 180.

The athletic javelin is in the vast majority of cases pointless. On early black-figured vases, such as the kelebe just mentioned, or the B. M. lekythos B. 576 published in this volume, Pl. II, the javelin is represented by a black line which does seem to taper at the ends, but this is a mere accident of technique, the natural result of a line drawn rapidly with a single stroke of brush or pen. On the red-figured vases and Panathenaic vases, the rod is of uniform length and usually ends square. Sometimes indeed it appears to have a blunt cap or ferule, indicated by a thickening of the end, or by a black patch, or by lines which represent the binding by which it is attached.[2] Such are the javelins and spears which Xenophon recommends cavalry soldiers to use in practice, provided with a round end (*ἐσφαιρωμένα*)[3] which corresponds to the button on the modern foil or bayonet. Such a cap served not only for protection but to give the necessary weight to the head of the javelin,

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[1] *v.* p. 11 of this volume: also vol. xxiv. p. 186.

[2] Jüthner, *Antike Turngeräthe*, p. 38, Fig. 32.

[3] *De re equest.* viii. 10.

without which it would not fly properly. It was probably universal, the omission of the lines or shading that indicate it being due to the vase-painter's carelessness. We cannot however ascribe to the same cause the omission of the point, seeing that in hunting and fighting scenes the javelin has almost invariably a long leaf-shaped metal head; and we may therefore safely conclude that the blunt javelin was generally used for practice, especially for distance throws. For target practice sharp javelins were naturally used, as is proved by the speech of Antiphon in defence of a youth who, missing the mark, accidentally hit and killed a companion.[4] Moreover, on two of the three vases which represent javelin throwing on horseback at a target, the javelins have all long leaf-like points, such as we see in hunting scenes.[5] A similar head is roughly represented on an early b.-f. hydria in the British Museum B. 326, where we see two athletes carrying javelins; but of the five weapons only

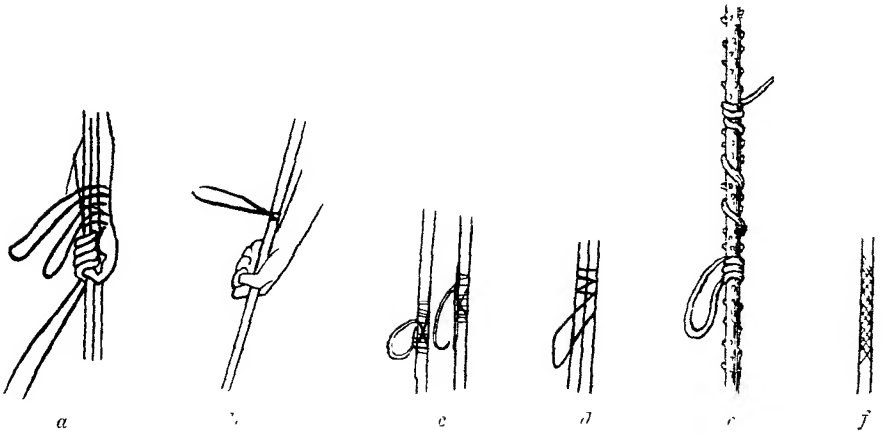

FIG. 1.—VARIOUS METHODS OF ATTACHING THE AMENTUM.
a. Vase of Hieron (Pollak, *Zwei Vasen Hierons*). *b*. B.M. Kylix, E 58. *c*. B.M. Lekythos, E 698. *d*. B.M. Kylix, E 96. *e*. Alexander Mosaic: Jüthner, Fig. 38. *f*. B.M. Amphora, E 316.

one is pointed. Somewhat similar is the javelin on a well known Chiusi wall-painting, while on the Lateran mosaic occurs a barbed javelin head.[6] On the Berlin bronze diskos the javelin has a long thin point attached to it by a socket, and similar points occur on a few r.-f. vases.[7] These however are but isolated examples, and the enormous preponderance of the blunt javelins justifies the conclusion that though for target practice the sharp javelin was used, the blunt one was preferred for distance throwing, and that down to the close of the 5th century distance throwing was more general than throwing at a target.

Whether pointed or blunt the javelin was evidently a light object, and Anacharsis contemptuously contrasts it with the more serviceable weapons

[4] *Tetralogia*, ii. 2.
[5] *v. infr.* Fig. 16 and Pl. XX.
[6] Jüthner, *op. cit.* p. 39. Fig. 33: Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas*, xxii. 9.
[7] Jüthner, Figs. 20, 40.

which are not carried about by the wind.[8] It was thrown by means of a thong called ἀγκύλη, or amentum, fastened near the centre of gravity of the javelin, which was therefore called μεσάγκυλον. The amentum was a leathern thong a foot or eighteen inches in length, if we may judge from the numerous representations of an akontistes holding an amentum loose in one hand and a javelin in the other.[9] It was bound firmly round the shaft of the javelin in such a way as to leave free a loop 3 or 4 inches long, in which the thrower inserted his first, or first and middle fingers. The point of attachment was the centre of gravity, in the light-headed javelin of the athlete almost in the centre of the shaft, in the more formidable weapon of war or the chase generally nearer the head. Its place varied also according as the javelin was to be thrown for distance or at a mark. By putting the amentum behind the centre of gravity it is possible to increase the distance thrown, but at a sacrifice of accuracy. Hence the amentum was detachable, and the athlete fastened it to suit his taste shortly before use. On the r.-f. hydria in the British Museum, E 164, published on p. 32 of this volume, we see a youth sitting on the ground in the act of attaching the amentum. On a Würzburg r.-f. kylix published by Jüthner,[10] a youth is bending down winding the amentum round the shaft, while he holds the other end tight with his foot. It was as we shall see essential that the thong should be securely fastened. The vase-paintings are too minute to show precisely how the amentum was fastened, but they suggest a considerable variety of ways, as will be seen from the examples given in Fig. 1. The clearest example is that shown on the Alexander mosaic in Naples. In every case it is only the actual loop which is left free.

The amentum served various purposes. In the first place it enabled the thrower to give a rotatory motion to the javelin, which not only helped it to keep its direction, acting on it in the same way as the rifling of a gun on a bullet, but also increased its carry and its penetrating power. For this reason the modern savage habitually puts a spin on his weapon by a movement of the fingers, which however are not so effective as the thong. The manner in which the amentum acts is shown in the illustrations reproduced from Jüthner in Fig. 4 a, b. The carry was further increased by the additional leverage given to the thrower's arm. The amentum also served to mark the point at which the javelin was to be grasped, a matter of considerable importance in war or in the chase, when there is no time to adjust the weapon carefully. In javelins and spears used by savages at the present day this point is often marked by some sort of binding. Such binding is clearly shown on the long spear held by Athena on the British Museum r.-f. amphora E 316, a portion of which is shown in Fig. 1 f. Lastly, the amentum

[8] Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 32.

[9] Jüthner, p. 40, Figs. 34, 35, 36. Jüthner proves conclusively that the objects represented on the Panaetius kylix (*v. infr.* Fig. 12) and elsewhere and commonly described as compasses are merely amenta, somewhat misdrawn.

[10] *Op. cit.* Fig. 37.

afforded a convenient handle, also a matter of some practical importance. Hence it was sometimes attached to long spears not intended primarily for throwing. Spears are sometimes provided with a short loop or sling for this purpose only.[11]

From these considerations it is obvious that the amentum was not as is sometimes stated the invention of the gymnasium, but was adopted by the gymnasium from war and the chase. This is abundantly proved by the monuments. Whether it was used in Homeric times, is uncertain. The principle of the sling was certainly known to the Homeric shepherd,[12] and besides the *δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος* of the chieftain, there was apparently a lighter and shorter weapon, the *αἰγανέη*, which is closely associated with the bow, and like the bow was used for hunting, and by the common soldiery in war and in

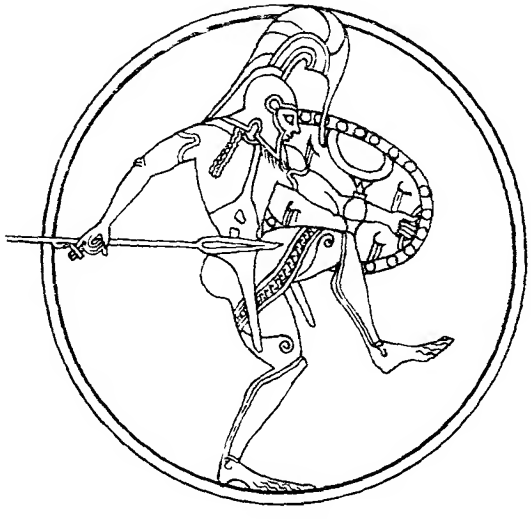

FIG. 2.—INTERIOR OF B.-F. KYLIX. B.M. B 380.

sport.[13] But there is no evidence in Homer that the principle of the sling was applied to the *αἰγανέη*. The warrior vase from Mycenae[14] however clearly shows two types of spear, a long spear carried with clenched fist, and a short spear raised almost at arm's length behind the head, with the point somewhat downwards, in a position commonly represented in hunting scenes. The hand is sharply pointed as if the fingers were extended, and a comparison of the way in which the spear is held with the hold shown in Figs. 6 and 7 confirms Jüthner's view that the artist intended to represent a weapon thrown with the amentum.

From the sixth century onwards the amentum was used in war, in the

[11] Possibly the Hasta Ansata is such, but *v. infr.* p. 255. Such spears are known among the Indians. *v.* Egerton *Arms of the Indians*. Figs. 2, No. 6; 72. No. 25.

[12] *v.* p. 5 of this volume (the *καλαῦροψ*): cp. *Il.* xiii. 600. Slingers are represented on a fragment of a silver vessel from Mycenae.

[13] *Il.* xvi. 589, ii. 774. We may note that both Odysseus and Nestor speak of their skill *δουρί*, not *ἀκοντίῳ*. *Od.* viii. 229 : *Il.* xxiii. 637.

[14] Schliemann-Schuchardt (Eng. Trans.), Figs. 284. 5.

chase, and in athletics. A few examples will suffice. On a Corinthian b.-f. lekythos in Berlin showing the various pieces of a hoplite's armour there stands side by side with the long spear a shorter weapon provided with a sort of loop.[15] The use of the amentum is clearly shown on a Chalcidian b.-f. kylix in the British Museum (Fig. 2). As is often the case the artist has made a mistake in drawing the fingers: the first and middle fingers should have been passed through the loop, not the other two. The warrior is perhaps about to throw the spear with a short underhand throw, a throw in which certain savages are extraordinarily skilful and for which the amentum would be most useful. Another Corinthian vase, in the British Museum, B 37, shows a delightful hunting scene. Several javelins fitted with amenta are seen sticking in the boar's back, clearly proving that the amentum was fixed to the javelin and did not remain in the thrower's hand. On yet another archaic vase, to which Mr. Cecil Smith has called my attention, a javelin fitted with the amentum is flying

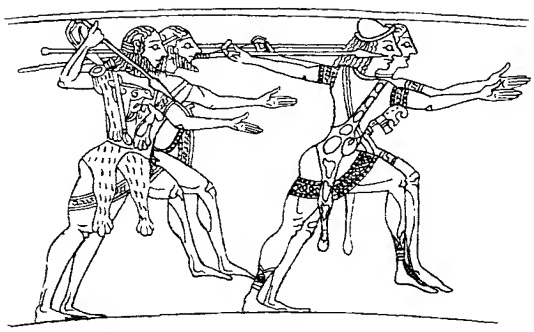

FIG. 3.—FROM THE FRANÇOIS VASE. (From Furtwangler, *Vasenmalerei* XIII.)

through the air, and the artist to produce a sense of velocity has given the shaft a wavy appearance.[16] Lastly on the François vase we see a pair of warriors with their fingers in the amentum about to throw their spears (Fig. 3), who in the position of the hands and fingers, and the whole attitude, closely resemble the akontistes in Fig. 10, save that on the latter vase the head is turned backward, a position obviously inadvisable for a hunter or warrior. As an early example of the amentum in athletic scenes we may take the akontistes on the b.-f. stamnos in the Museo Gregoriano (Fig. 7).

A javelin thrown by a thong is necessarily a light weapon, but though light the akontion used in war and in the chase was decidedly formidable, and could be used effectively not only for throwing but for stabbing. For the latter purpose it could be held either with clenched fist or with the amentum. Some of the figures on the François vase for example (Fig. 3) have their javelins raised behind their heads like the warriors on the Mycenae

[15] Jüthner, Fig. 51. Berlin 3148.

[16] *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Pl. X.

vase as if to stab; the hands are clenched and there is no sign of the amentum. The type is a common one on vases of all periods. That the amentum would afford a useful grip both for throwing and stabbing is clear from the hunting scenes represented in Gerhard's *Apulische Vasenbilder*, Pl. A.

If the akontion could be used for thrusting, the long spear could on occasion be thrown. The Homeric warrior sometimes hurled his δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, and so did the hoplite of the fifth century. The long spear is even represented sometimes with an amentum, for example on the British Museum r.-f. lekythos E 698, on which is drawn a female figure, possibly Eudaimonia, holding in her hand a long spear, or on the vase of Hieron from which the detail of Fig. 1 a is taken.[17] How far this practice was general, it is impossible to say. The amentum is a detail only occasionally inserted by the vase-painters whether on javelin or spear, and even when inserted the thin lines which indicate it are very liable to wear away. Certainly the primary use of the long spear was for thrusting: the hoplite could not afford to risk its loss and would rarely throw it. The amentum therefore if generally attached served probably rather as a handle than as an amentum proper.

The long heavy spear was the weapon of the fifth century: the real importance of the javelin dates from the closing years of the Peloponnesian war, when the value of light-armed troops and cavalry began to be realized. The light-armed troops were mostly mercenaries, Lydians, Mysians, Arcadians, Aetolians, Thessalians, Thracians.[18] All these races were skilled in the use of the javelin. That the peltasts threw the javelin by means of the amentum is clear from Xenophon. In the passage of the Ten Thousand through the mountainous territory of the Carduchi, the Greeks he tells us picked up the long arrows of the enemy and used them as javelins fitting thongs to them (ἐναγκυλῶντες).[19] Elsewhere he orders the peltasts guarding the rear to advance with their fingers in the amentum (διηγκυλισμένους) ready to throw.

The javelin was not confined to the mercenaries: at Athens it was the special weapon of the ephebos, who is generally represented holding a pair of javelins. Pl. XVII. gives a typical picture of the Athenian ephebos. In the third century special trainers called ἀκοντισταί were engaged to train the epheboi in the use of the javelin.[20] Competitions were held at Athens and elsewhere in throwing the javelin both at a mark and for distance, both on foot and on horseback.[21] In the vases representing the latter contest the amentum is not shown, but its use is implied by

[17] The amentum occurs frequently on Hieron's vases, *e.g.* on a r.-f. kotyle representing Achilles and Briseis in the Louvre, *M.d.I.* vi. 19: on a kylix representing Theseus and Aethra, Hermitage, 830, Harrison and MacColl *Greek Vase-paintings*, Pl. XXII.

[18] Dar.-Sagl. *s.v. jaculum*, p. 594.

[19] *Anab.* iv. 2. 28, iv. 3. 28, v. 2. 12.

[20] Ditt. *Syll.*² ii. 520, 521; cp. 522 of Ceos. 523 of Teos.

[21] Ditt. *Syll.*² ii. 522, 668, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674; *Inscr. Or. Gr.* 339; *I.G.* vi. 444; *Ath. Mitth.* xxx. 1905, p. 213.

the fingering of the javelin, and this conclusion is confirmed by the representation of a cavalry skirmish on an embossed swordbelt found at Watsch in Carinthia, where the spears flying through the air are all provided with a loop.[22] or that on a vase from the Acropolis described below (Fig. 8).

B.—*The Distribution of the Amentum.*

The Romans are said to have borrowed the amentum from the Greeks.[23] But the evidence of its distribution seems to render this statement highly improbable. The amentum was widely known in Italy at an early date. It was certainly known to the Etruscans, being represented on an Etruscan warrior's spear in a tomb at Caere, while in another tomb at Chiusi an Etruscan athlete is depicted in a typical position, putting his fingers through the loop.[24] From other tombs and from vases representing Italian warriors we learn that the Samnites and Messapians used the amentum.[25] A very interesting painting found in a tomb at Paestum represents a fight between two warriors, each armed with a shield and two javelins, fitted with a sort of semicircular loop.[26] Two of the javelins have been thrown, one of them is sticking in the left hand warrior's shield. The other has pierced right through his opponent's calf, so that its point projects on the other side. With their remaining javelins they are preparing to stab one another. They hold the javelins with clenched fists, but in only one case is the thong visible, forming a loop over the holder's hand but certainly not used as an amentum proper. Hence the javelins have been identified with the hastae ansatae mentioned by Ennius. But whether the object represented is an amentum or ansa, or whether the amentum is the same as the ansa or different, we cannot say. I am inclined to think that the amentum did at times serve as a handle or ansa, and that the object represented is intended for the amentum, for which ansa is merely another name. But though there is evidence of the wide distribution of the amentum in Italy at an early date, there is no evidence of its use in the Roman armies. It is stated indeed that the hasta velitaris used by the light-armed troops was thrown by the amentum, but I do not know on what evidence. Certainly the characteristic Roman weapon was the heavy pilum, and Livy in his account of the battle of Magnesia expressly contrasts the heavy weapons of the Roman soldiers and the light weapons of Antiochus' forces.[27] The damp, he says, had no effect on the heavy pila and swords of the Romans, but it had softened the bow-strings, slings, and the 'amenta jaculorum' used by the king's soldiers. The light javelin was, as we have seen in Greece, essentially the weapon of the hunter and the light-armed soldier, and the strength of Rome lay in her

[22] *Revue Arch.* 1884, Pl. III.; Jüthner, pp. 61, 62.

[23] F. Krause, *Schleudervorrichtungen fur Wurfwaffen* in *Internationales Archiv* (*Leyden*) 1902, pp. 121 *sq.*

[24] Dar.-Sagl. *s.v. amentum*, Figs. 255, 256.

[25] *Ib. s.v. hasta*, p. 38, *s.v. barbari*, p. 674.

[26] *Ib.* Fig. 254.

[27] xxxvii. 41.

heavily armed legionaries, her light-armed troops being supplied mostly by allies and at a later period by mercenaries. Among the enemies of Rome we undoubtedly find a weapon thrown by means of the amentum. This was the tragula used by the Spaniards at the time of the Second Punic War. In Caesar's time the tragula is the weapon of the Gallic cavalry, serving as mercenaries in his army.[28] From this time we have abundant evidence of the use of the amentum in the Roman army. We find traces of it in the Roman weapons discovered at Alise Sainte Reine, and we even find it represented on the Roman legionary's spear.[29] But it is unnecessary to go into details of this period. Enough has been said to show that the amentum was widely distributed over Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and that Rome probably adopted it, not from Greece, but from her own allies and subjects. To suppose that its use spread from Greece to Rome, and thence to Gaul and Spain, is surely inconceivable.

This view is supported by evidence from other parts of Europe. We have already found the amentum at Watsch in Austria. A comparison of the light javelin heads found in large numbers at La Tène with those found at Alise renders it likely that the weapons to which they belonged were thrown with a thong.[30] From Vergil we gather that the use of the throwing thong was a Teutonic custom.[31] In his catalogue of the Latin forces he mentions two apparently similar weapons, the aclys and cateia. The former was thrown by the 'lento flagello,' the latter 'ritu Teutonico.' Unfortunately we do not knew the exact nature of the weapons mentioned. Proceeding further north-west we find conclusive proof of the existence of the amentum in the early iron age of Denmark.[32] Remains of it have actually been found at Nydam. The spears found are from 8 to 10 feet long. On the middle of the shaft are often visible a number of small bronze rivets, between which the cord was fastened, or a bronze mounting to mark the point of balance. In some cases the cord was found still fastened between the rivets. Lastly we find the amentum in Ireland.[33] In ancient Irish story it is frequently mentioned. Thus in the battle of Moyreth 'Cuanna pressing his foot on the solid earth put his finger in the string of his broad-headed spear and made a cast at Congal.' This loop—called suanem, or suaineamh—was made of silk or flax, and the laigan or spear to which it was attached is said to have been brought into Ireland by Gaulish mercenaries in the fourth century B.C. A most interesting survival of this old Irish spear with its loop is seen on a picture of Captain Thomas Lee painted in 1594, now in the possession of Lord Dillon, a print of which is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

The fixed amentum seems practically unknown to the modern savage. The only example that I can find is a javelin from the Pitt Rivers collection no. 217, now in the Ashmolean Museum. It is described as coming from

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[28] Livy, xxi. 7. 10, xxiv. 42. 2; Caesar *B.G.* i. 26, v. 35, 48; *B.C.* i. 57.

[29] Dar.-Sagl. *s.v. hasta*, p. 39, Fig. 3729.

[30] Desor *Les palafittes*, p. 86.

[31] *Aen.* vii. 730. 741.

[32] C. Engelhardt *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, p. 56. Pls. X. 5, 6, XII. 2.

[33] P. W. Joyce *A Social History of Ireland*, i. 113; O'Curry *Manners and Customs of Ancient Ireland*, I. cccxliv.

central Africa, where it is probably a survival of the javelins used by the Roman mercenaries occupying Africa.[34]

Another type of throwing thong, the ounep, is used by the people of New Caledonia and New Hebrides. It is a thickish cord about 6 or 8 inches long with a loop at one end for the finger and a knot at the other. The spears are 9 to 12 feet long with a slight projection just behind the centre of gravity, behind which the cord is placed and twisted over the knot in such a way as to untie as the spear leaves the hand, remaining itself in the thrower's hand. An illustration of this is taken from a drawing displayed in the Ethnographical Gallery of the British Museum (Fig. 4). A combination of this thong with the throwing stick is used in New Zealand. The throwing stick is by far the commonest means of increasing the

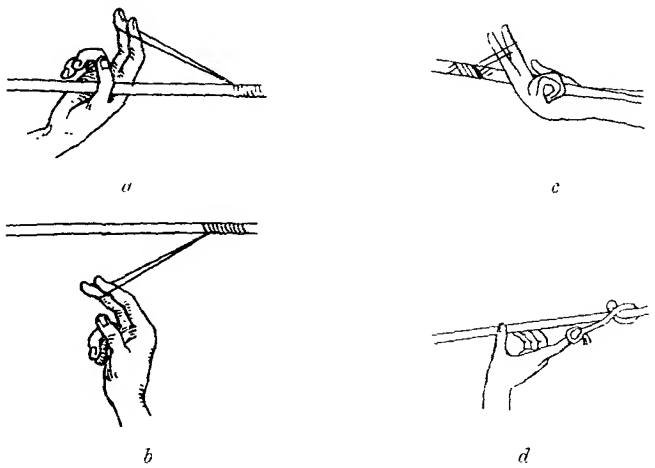

FIG. 4.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE USE OF THE THROWING THONG.

a, *b*. Jüthner, Figs. 47, 48. *c*. B.M. B 134. *d*. The Ounep of New Caledonia.

throw of a spear. It is widely used in Australia, Melanesia, Central America, and among the Eskimos, but is unknown in Europe, though a similar implement of bone was apparently used by Palaeolithic man in France.[35]

To sum up, the fixed amentum is an exclusively European invention. It is found throughout Greece and Italy, in Spain and Gaul, in Central Europe, in Denmark, and in Ireland. The light javelin to which it belongs is essentially the weapon of the less highly civilized peoples. It is a weapon of the chase, a weapon of the common people, but it plays little part in the heavily equipped citizen armies of Greece and Rome. Both in Greece and Rome it comes into prominence with the organization of light-armed troops, and then it is chiefly the weapon of the troops of subject states and mercenaries. Under these

[34] *Bethnal Green Museum Catalogue*, 1877, p. 40; Pitt Rivers *The Evolution of Culture*, pp. 132–4.

[35] *Internationales Archiv*, *l.c.* *B.M. Guide to the Stone Age*, p. 49.

circumstances it is hardly conceivable that its use should have originated in Greece, and we are forced to the conclusion that the amentum was a device of the peoples of Central Europe, and in the course of their wanderings was carried by them throughout the Southern and Western portions of the Continent.

Experiments have amply established the practical use of the amentum with a light javelin. In the experiments made by General Reffye for the Emperor Napoleon it was found that a javelin which could be thrown only 20 metres by hand could be thrown 80 metres with the amentum. According to Jüthner an inexperienced thrower increased his throw from 25 to 65 metres. These records are with a light javelin. The javelin used in the recent Olympic games was of the Swedish type, without the amentum, and weighed 800 grammes or 2 lbs. Lemming, the winner, threw it 53·90 metres, but Colonel V. Balck informs me that in Sweden he has thrown nearly 55 metres. The old Greek javelin must have been a much lighter weapon.

C.—*The Manner of Throwing the Javelin.*

In spite of frequent carelessness and mistakes in the drawing of hands and fingers, in spite of the frequent omission or disappearance of the amentum, the vases leave no doubt as to the method of throwing the javelin with the amentum. Two things are necessary: the amentum must be firmly attached to the shaft, and the loop must be drawn tight by the fingers before the javelin is thrown. We have already seen the akontistes in the act of fastening the amentum. On a r.-f. psykter (Fig. 5) we see a group of javelin throwers preparing to practise under the supervision of a paidotribes and his assistant, while two other paidotribai are obviously giving instruction in wrestling. Two of them are testing the bindings: resting one end of the javelin on the ground and holding it firm with the left hand, they pass their right hands along the shaft so as to see that the binding is secure. A third holding the javelin in the same position is about to pass his fingers through the loop. The loop has disappeared, but is clearly indicated by the position of the hand. A fourth has already inserted his fingers through the thong, and raising the javelin horizontally to a level with his breast, presses it forward with his left hand so as to draw the thong tight. The attitude of this figure has caused quite unnecessary difficulty: it is a perfectly natural position, from which by a half turn to the left any of the preliminary positions which we shall now describe may be reached.

Dr. Juthner distinguishes two types of javelin throwing, one in which the javelin is pointed more or less upwards, the other in which it is horizontal. The distinction, in spite of de Ridder's denial, is a real one, though Juthner has not grasped the full meaning of it. The so-called horizontal throw is the throw of war or the chase, the other the throw of athletic competitions. In the latter, distance is the one and only object, and the thrower may take his time: in the former distance is only a secondary con-

sideration, compared with force and accuracy, and everything depends on rapidity of action. It is the difference between throwing in a cricket-ball to

FIG. 5.—R.-F. PSYKTER OF PHINTIAS. (*Antike Denkmäler*, ii. 20.)

the wicket and throwing a cricket-ball in a competition. An examination of the two types will make this clear.

(a) *The Practical Style.*

The soldier or the huntsman must have his javelin ready for use at a moment's notice. He therefore carries it with his fingers passed through the loop, διηγκυλισμένος. He may carry it horizontally by his side as does

the warrior in Fig. 2, a somewhat cramped position owing to the fact that the arm has to be turned outwards. The freer and more natural position is with the arm bent and the javelin sloped over the shoulder or across the body, the point downwards. From this position he can draw it back as does the other youth from the same vase, or raise the elbow so that the javelin is level with the head, an excellent position for taking aim. This manner of holding the javelin is implied or represented on many hunting or battle scenes. It is equally serviceable on horseback and on foot. But the best examples of it are on the two Panathenaic amphorae (Pl. XVIII and Fig. 6). On the British Museum vase the athlete who leads the procession carries his javelin at the slope, the other akontistes has raised it horizontally. On the Leyden amphora the javelin is still sloping slightly downwards. This position, with the javelin poised on a level with the head, which we may call 'the carry,' is the natural preliminary position for starting, whether the thrower uses the

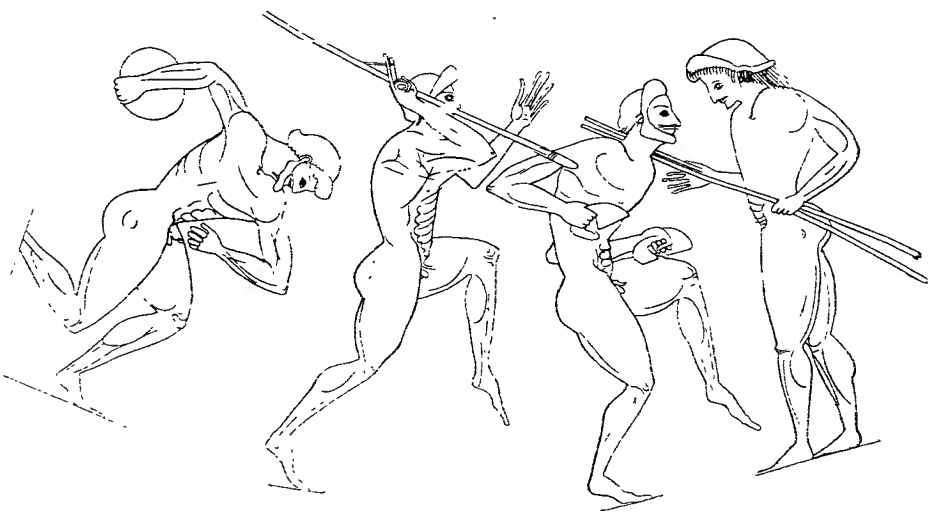

FIG. 6.—PANATHENAIC AMPHORA, LEYDEN. (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, IX.)

amentum or not. In the latter case it enables the thrower to balance his weapon properly. In a photograph which Mr. Bosanquet sent me of Lemming, the winner in this competition at the last Olympic Games, the latter is standing with his javelin poised in this very position. The javelin may be kept in this position during the run or may be at once drawn back. On the two vases in question the thrower certainly appears to be running, but the position of the left arm clearly proves that he is not in the act of throwing. Where time was no object, as in sports, the thrower might before starting to run adjust the javelin by pressing the point back with his left hand so as to draw the amentum tight, and this movement is represented on a b.-f. stamnos in the Museo Gregoriano (Fig. 7). From the 'carry' the thrower immediately before the throw draws back his arm in the manner represented on the François vase (Fig. 3). In the actual throw the move-

ment is reversed, arm and spear travelling back through the same positions again, saving that when the amentum is used the fingers loose their hold of the spear which (even before the hand reaches the level of the head) is held merely by means of the thong. This is clearly shown on a most interesting b.-f. vase from the Acropolis, the upper zone of which represents a battle of chariots and the lower zone a cavalry fight between archers and javelin throwers. One of the latter is reproduced in Fig. 8 from a photograph of the vase for which I am indebted to the kindness of Drs. Wolters and Gräf, who are engaged in the publication of these vases.[36] Perhaps the moment before the actual throw is represented on a Panathenaic amphora in the Museo Gregoriano.[37] The attitude of the javelin thrower is very similar to that shown on the two Panathenaic amphorae mentioned above. The action however is decidedly more vigorous, the body is inclined slightly forwards, and the left hand instead of being

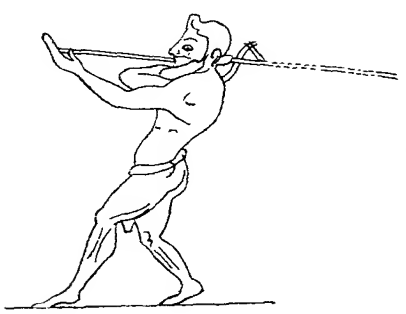

FIG. 7.—B.-F. STAMNOS. (Museo Gregoriano II. xvii.)

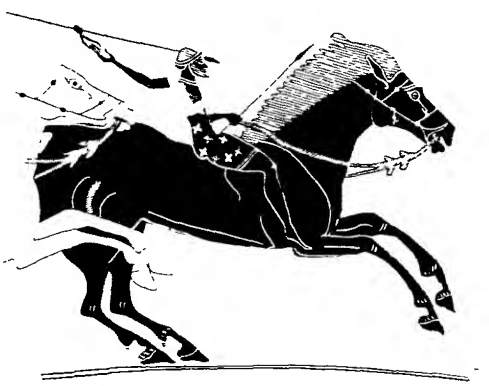

FIG 8.—B.-F. VASE. ACROPOLIS, ATHENS.

raised is swung backwards, while the spear points slightly upwards. The only difficulty in this interpretation is that the spear still rests between the finger and the thumb, and is not as it should be at this point held only by the amentum. But careful though the early vase-painters are in details, the realism of the Acropolis vase is certainly exceptional, nay as far as I know unique, and I am inclined to think that the artist of the Gregoriano amphora did intend to represent the actual moment of the throw. The three amphorae and the other vases discussed all belong to the sixth century. The style of throw represented is typical of the black-figured vases and quite distinct from that which we shall find general on the red-figured vases of the fifth century. It is the practical style of the chase and war adapted to the palaestra, and in the fifth century, when owing to the

[36] Acropolis vases, 568, cp. Juthner, p. 52.

[37] *Mus. Greg.* xliii. 2. b. The other figures are a diskobolos and an official. A slight variation occurs on an archaistic r.-f. amphora figured by de Witte *Hôtel Lambert*, Pl. XXIV, the left arm being close to the side.

development of the heavy-armed hoplites the light javelin temporarily lost its practical importance, this style was superseded by a purely athletic style.

Before proceeding to discuss the latter we must deal with a question which naturally arises. If the style of throwing is that of the chase and war, does it not follow that these vases represent throwing the javelin at a mark rather than for distance? The question is of importance in connexion with the nature of the javelin competition in the pentathlon. At first sight the general attitude seems in favour of throwing at a target; but the care which the artists take to emphasize the fact that the spear point is blunt is conclusive for a distance throw. There is no evidence at any period for any kind of target or mark for which a blunt spear could be used. Moreover, both in sport and war distance and force are no less important than accuracy, and it is natural that as long as the javelin was regarded as

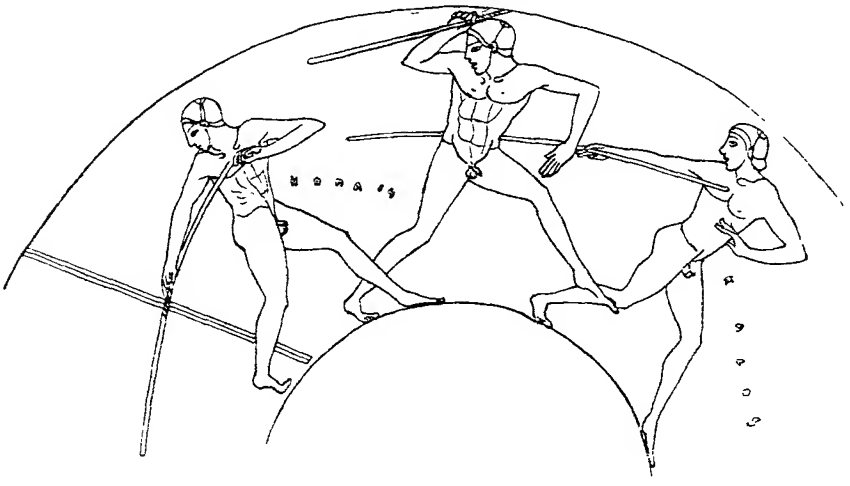

FIG. 9.—R.-F. KYLIX, MUNICH. 562 A. (After Juthner.)

a military rather than as an athletic implement, it should be thrown even in an athletic competition for distance in the style most practically useful.[38]

(b) *The Athletic Style.*

The purely athletic character of the style depicted on the red-figured vases is obvious from the most casual inspection. Till the actual moment of the throw the head is turned backwards, the eyes fixed on the right hand,[39] a position absurd alike for war and for the chase, and for throwing at a mark. After carefully adjusting and testing the amentum in the manner described and passing his first finger or first and middle fingers through the loop the

[38] I have received confirmation of this from a friend who has long resided in Central Africa. The natives in war and hunting throw spears much in the style described above, though without the amentum, and in throwing the spear for distance in sport they use the same style, never the purely athletic style described below.

[39] Cp. Figs. 9, 10, 11, 14, 15.

thrower extends the right arm backwards to its full length, while with his left hand opposite his right breast he holds the end of the spear and pushes it backwards so as to draw the thong tight. This is the moment depicted on the B. M. amphora E 256 (Pl. XIX). The javelin is sometimes held horizontally, more commonly sloping with the butt-end almost on the ground.[40] As the thrower starts to run he draws his right arm still further backwards turning his body sideways and extends his left arm to the front. On the Munich kylix (Fig. 9) the youth on the left still holds the point of the javelin in his left hand, the youth on the right has just released it. On the Berlin kylix (Fig. 10) the left arm is fully extended. From the position of the head

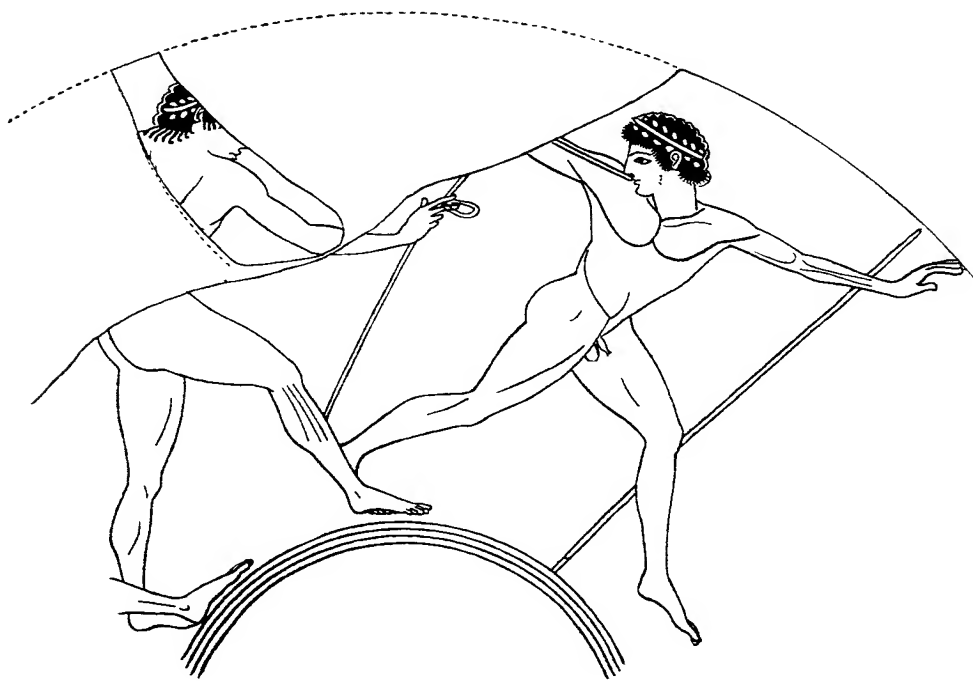

FIG. 10.—R.-F. KYLIX, BERLIN. 3139. (After Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. XLVI.)

and body it is obvious that the violent, rapid run of which some authors speak is an impossibility. Just as in throwing the cricket-ball the run consists of a few short springy steps. Immediately before the throw a further turn of the body to the right takes place, the right knee being well bent and the right shoulder dropped, while the hand is turned outwards so that the shaft rests on the palm of the hand. This attitude is vividly depicted on a Torlonia kylix, the illustration of which is taken from Jüthner (Fig. 11).[41]

[40] It need hardly be said that there is no evidence for the 'tir en haut' of which de Ridder speaks. Dar.-Sagl. *s.v. jaculum*. In the r.-f. kylix from the Louvre (Dar.-Sagl. Fig. 252, Schreiber, *Atlas* xxii. 8) which he cites the angle of the spear hardly differs from that in Figs. 9, 11, 14. Generally speaking the higher the throw, the greater the carry. Cf. Xenophon *de re equest.* xii. 13, quoted below p. 271.

[41] Cp. the directions for spear-throwing and the illustrations given by Col. V. Balck in his *Lekar och Idrottsöfningar*, p. 426.

A variation of style is represented in Fig. 10. Here the javelin instead of pointing upwards is almost horizontal. A similar variation has been noted in the preliminary position. The attitude closely resembles that adopted in throwing at a target, and we might be tempted so to interpret it. But this interpretation is put out of court first by the position of the head, which has been already noticed, secondly by the fact that in all the vase-paintings of this type the javelin is blunt. This type occurs on the British Museum bronze diskos, which is figured by Jüthner p. 28. The javelin is represented by a single line, which is misinterpreted in the catalogue as a cord. The drawing of the akontistes is however so coarse and contrasts so strongly with that of the diskobolos on the other side, that Mr. Cecil Smith has come to the conclusion that it is spurious. If genuine, the line can only be part of an

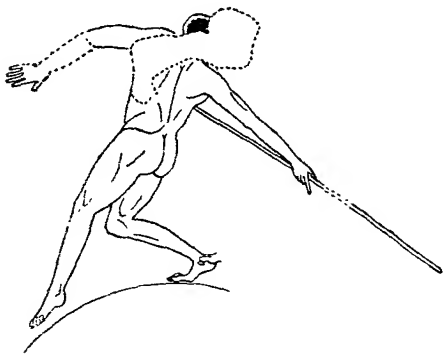

Fig. 11.—R.-F. Kylix, Torlonia 270 (148). (After Jüthner.)

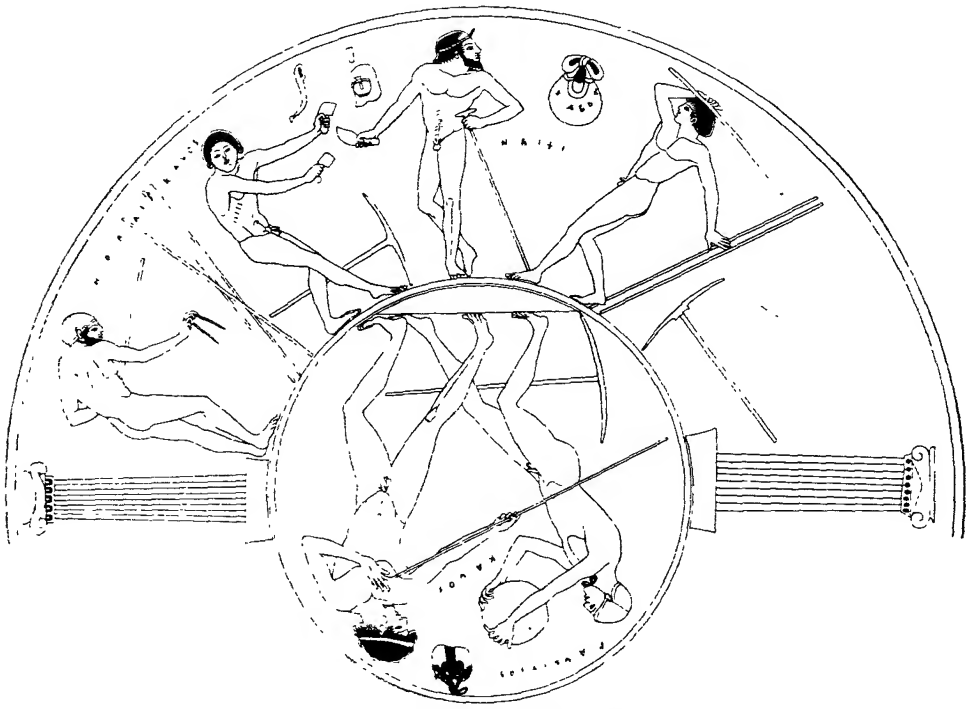

Fig. 12.—R.-F. Kylix, Munich 795. (From *Arch. Zeit.*)

unfinished drawing of a javelin. The closest parallel to the diskos is the vase represented in Fig. 10.

The actual throw is very rarely shown and the artists who attempt it are hopelessly confused. For example, the central youth on the Munich kylix (Fig. 9) is clearly intended to be throwing the javelin to the right, but the fingering of the right hand is only compatible with a throw to the left. Not much better is the drawing on the Panaitios kylix (Fig. 12). The general attitude is good and lifelike, but the position of the hand is hopeless and the amentum is conspicuous by its absence. The carelessness of the red-figured vase-painters as to the amentum is in marked contrast with the carefulness of their black-figured predecessors. For the former the typical positions of the akontistes are the preliminary positions described above, which are repeated with little variation till they become merely conventional. Moreover, whereas in the black-figured vases the amentum is inserted in black in the same way

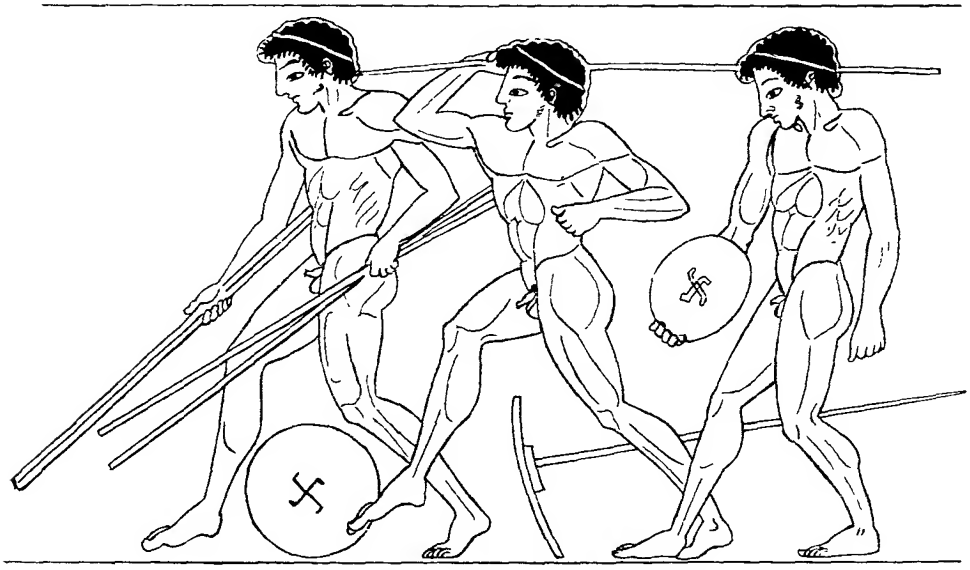

FIG. 13.—R.-F. AMPHORA, MUNICH. (From Furtwangler's *Vasenmalerei* XLV.)

as the spear itself, in the red-figured vases it has to be added in some other colour, usually white or purple, after the drawing is finished. Hence this detail tends to be omitted altogether, and if inserted is the first to become obliterated.

Occasionally we find a type that reminds us of the black-figured vases. On a r.-f. 'kylix' in the Museo Gregoriano reproduced in Klein's *Euphronios*, we see a youth striding vigorously forwards with his javelin raised in his right hand level with his head, and his left hand swung backwards. The same type occurs on a kylix of Epictetos in Berlin.[42] The energy of the action, which on the latter vase is encouraged by the strains of a flute, seems to suggest that the actual moment of the throw is represented. But the fact

[42] *Mus. Greg.* lxix. Klein, p. 291 ; *Berl. Vas.* 2262, Gerh. *A. V.* 272.

that the right leg is advanced seems decisive against this view, unless we can suppose that the javelin is being thrown not for distance but at a target, of which, as I have said, there is no evidence.

Similar but less vigorous is the drawing on the Munich amphora (Fig. 13). Here again the right hand, which in the other two vases is hidden by the head, is quite impossible, the wrist being curved over the shaft instead of being bent back underneath the shaft. It seems safer then to regard this type as representing the run.

A few small points remain. Was the javelin ever thrown without a run? That it was usually thrown with a run is obvious from the vase paintings, but a drawing published by Jüthner from the *Apparat des röm. Instituts* (Fig. 14) proves that the standing throw was sometimes practised, the attitude being evidently borrowed from that of the diskobolos. Possibly the Torlonia kylix (Fig. 11) may also represent a standing throw.

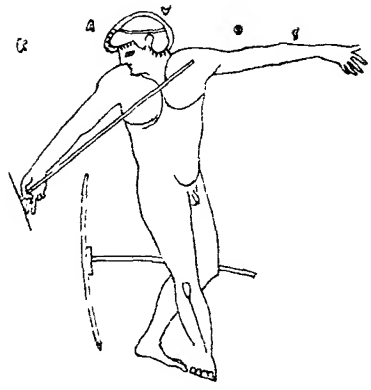

Fig. 14.—R.-F. Kylix, Rome. (After Jüthner.)

Secondly, was the javelin thrown with the left hand as well as with the right? Plato recommends the training of both hands alike, and the fact that the Greek carried two spears, often one in either hand, renders the suggestion probable. But the only direct proof of a left-handed throw is on a kylix of Nicosthenes, in Berlin.[43] Even if a left-handed throw was practised in the gymnasia, there is no evidence of it in competitions.

Lastly, was the javelin ever thrown without the amentum? The only evidence is derived from the position of the hand and the omission of the amentum on the vases, and this evidence is, as has been explained, too untrustworthy to warrant us in asserting that it was so. Here again common-sense tells us that the Greek athlete, used as he was to the amentum, would not have rejected its help in competitions.

D.—*Competitions in Javelin Throwing.*

In the games of Patroclus javelin throwing is a separate event. Here and in all other passages where it is mentioned in Homer as a sport the competition is for distance only.[44] Throwing at a mark may possibly be implied in the association of javelin throwing and archery,[45] a combination which meets us again in fourth-century inscriptions, and Pindar definitely describes such a competition in the legendary Olympic games celebrated by Heracles,

ἄκοντι Φράστωρ ἤλασε σκοπόν.—Ol. x. 71.

[43] Klause, xviii. *b*, 14 *e* : *Berl. Vas.* 1805.

[44] *Il.* xviii. 637 : *Od.* viii. 229.

[45] *Il.* ii. 774 : *Od.* iv. 626, xvii. 168.

But though in this as in all other sports the chieftain excelled the common soldier, the javelin like the bow did not occupy a very high place in the aristocratic sports of Homer.

To the same prejudice we may ascribe the fact that in the great athletic festivals which preserved unchanged through all their history many of the aristocratic traditions of their early days, the javelin and the diskos, which as I showed in my last article may be traced back to the stone thrown in primitive warfare, were not separate events but merely formed part of the pentathlon. But though javelin throwing as a sport was less esteemed than boxing or wrestling, the use of the javelin was universal. As the weapon of the chase every Greek must from boyhood have practised throwing the javelin for distance and at any improvised mark. At an early date its use was taught in the gymnasia, and its popularity is shown by the numerous representations of it on the vases and by the frequent metaphors which Pindar borrows from it. There is however no evidence for any separate competition in javelin throwing, with the possible exception of the competition on horseback, until the fourth century.

The question whether in the pentathlon the javelin was thrown for distance or at a mark has been discussed at wearisome length by archaeologists and commentators on Pindar. The argument too often revolves in a hopeless circle, the commentators using as premisses the purely *à priori* statements of early archaeologists or conclusions based on the very passages which they are discussing. Martin Faber for example exhausts himself in the Sisyphean task of proving that when Pindar speaks of σκοπός in connexion with a javelin, he does not mean a mark but a boundary wall evolved out of his own imagination.[46] Others argue from conjectural hypotheses as to the order of events in the pentathlon or the method of deciding this competition as though the hypotheses were established facts. The question has been admirably discussed by Jüthner, whose conclusion is, I think, incontestable, namely that the competition in the pentathlon was one purely for distance.

Let us first take the witness of the monuments. The vases, as we have seen, show no evidence for throwing at a mark. The points of the javelin are blunt, the thrower has his head turned away, and there is no sign of any mark or target. The latter argument is particularly convincing, because on the only three vases which represent throwing the javelin on horseback the target is clearly depicted. It is unnecessary to discuss the delightfully naive suggestion of M. Girard[47] that the objects falsely interpreted as compasses, which as has been shown above are really nothing more than badly drawn amenta, were used for drawing circles in the sand which served as targets, or the hardly less curious suggestion of the late Mr. Freeman that these same objects were a sort of croquet hoop used as a target.[48] The hunter or soldier does not throw his spear at his victim's feet but at his body, and if a target is used it is at a reasonable height.

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[46] *Philologos*, 4. 489 *sq.* [47] *L'Éducation Athénienne*, p. 206. [48] *Schools of Hellas*, p. 134

The literary evidence agrees with that of the monuments. The passages of Pindar referring to a mark with the exception of the account of the games of Heracles have no necessary connexion with any competition, certainly not with the pentathlon. They are metaphors borrowed from the practice of everyday life. One passage certainly refers to the pentathlon,[49] two others possibly:[50] all three clearly indicate a distance throw. Lastly Lucian in the *Anacharsis* 27 definitely states περὶ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ἐς μῆκος ἁμιλλῶνται. His evidence though late is valuable because he is speaking of Olympia, and therefore of the pentathlon, the only event in which javelin throwing occurred at Olympia, and it is most improbable that the conditions of the competition were ever changed in that most conservative of festivals.

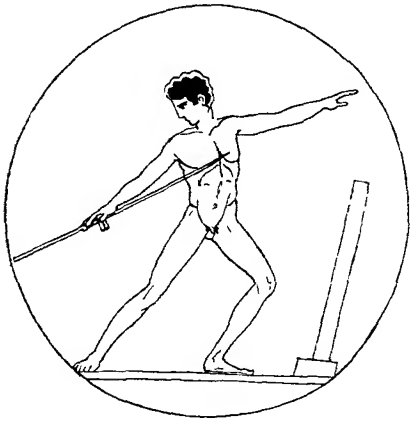

Fig. 15.—R.-F. Kylix. Berlin 2728. (After Jüthner.)

The pentathlete then threw the javelin for distance. As in the diskos throw and jump he was not allowed to overstep a certain line. This line is perhaps suggested by the pillar in Fig. 15: it is certainly the τέρμα mentioned by Pindar in *Nem.* vii. 70

> Εὐξενίδα πάτραθε Σώγενες, ἀπομνύω
> μὴ τέρμα προβὰς ἄκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι
> θοὰν γλῶσσαν, ὃς ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων
> αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδίαντον, αἴθωνι πρὶν ἀελίῳ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν.

Here I must join issue with Jüthner. He argues that the javelin thrower with his short run would be most unlikely to overstep the mark, and therefore concludes that the τέρμα is not the line from which he throws, but the line on either side of the arena within which he must keep his throw. This interpretation does violence not only to the natural meaning of τέρμα but also of προβάς, which can only mean 'stepping in front of.' Moreover, experience shows that in the similar competitions of throwing the cricket-ball or putting the weight, disqualification for overstepping the line though rare is by no means unknown in the excitement of competition. With this reservation, Jüthner's interpretation of the passage may be accepted. Without fully discussing the endless interpretations of these lines I may briefly state my reasons.

Pindar defends himself throughout this ode against a charge brought against him by certain Aeginetans of having transgressed the rules of courtesy and fairness in some previous mention of their national hero Neoptolemus. These detractors seem to have blamed Thearion for allowing one who had

[49] *Nem.* vii. 70. [50] *Isthm.* ii. 35, *Pyth.* i. 44.

insulted their hero to introduce a note of discord into the triumph of his son (v. 69). Pindar had trangresssed the laws and was disqualified thereby. Perhaps too they had taunted Thearion for his extravagance in employing so expensive a poet (v. 18). In reply, Pindar appeals to the fact of his friendship with Thearion (v. 61), to his position as proxenos at Dodona (v. 66). He disclaims all violence or arrogance (v. 62); there is nothing discordant in his praise of Sogenes (v. 69). Then comes the passage in question. 'Sogenes of the house of the Euxenidae I swear that I did not overstep the mark and send forth the swift speech of my tongue like a bronze-headed javelin that puts out of the wrestling the strong neck sweatless yet, or ever the limbs be plunged in the sun's fire.' He disclaims all unfairness that would disqualify. 'Yet,' he continues, 'if there was trouble, if I was carried somewhat too far, song can make amends: after trouble delight follows more abundant.'

Such I take to be the thought of the passage. A word or two on points of detail. The emphatic *ἀπομνύω* followed by *μή* surely shows that the disclaimer is not confined to the participle *προβάς* but extends to the infinitive *ὅρσαι*. Professor Bury realizing this proposes to read *ὑπομνύω*, a purely arbitrary emendation of a scholiast and quite unnecessary. Secondly, if, as Mr. Fennell says, the notion of disgrace does not *generally* attach to *ἐκπέμπω*, it frequently does so. It is used of 'divorcing' a wife, and 'sending into exile,' while he quotes no instance in which it means 'to release' or 'send off in triumph.' The word is however in itself neutral, and takes its meaning from the context. What then is its meaning in athletics? Did the Greeks regard the finish of a hard-fought contest as an unnecessary toil from which it was an advantage to escape? Every sportsman will instinctively answer 'no;' and that the Greeks really were sportsmen is shown by the additional honour attaching to a victory in which the victor had fought every round without drawing a bye. Certainly Pindar's ideal athlete who 'rejoices in the cost and the toil' (*Isth.* v. 10) would feel no satisfaction in being 'put out of the wrestling' by an opponent's mistake.

This interpretation then does not rest on the 'arbitrary assumption' that an unfair throw at once disqualified the competitor, it rests on the natural meaning of the Greek. If, as I believe, the words naturally imply such a disqualification, it is for those who interpret them otherwise to show that such disqualification did not take place. For my own part, considering the punctilious, the religious strictness with which the great games were administered, it seems in the highest degree probable that the slightest breach of the regulations involved disqualification. But it *is* arbitrary to assume that Sogenes himself or a fellow competitor overstept the line, it is arbitrary to assume that one competitor frequently won three of the first four events, it is arbitrary to assume that in consequence the competition was frequently finished before the wrestling came on, it is arbitrary to assume (though personally I think it probable) that the javelin throwing immediately preceded the wrestling. These and other arbitrary assumptions are made by those who translate *ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων* 'saves from the wrestling.'

The competitors then might not overstep the line and any such breach of the rules probably involved immediate disqualification. Further, common-sense and the safety of the spectators required that they should keep within certain limits as regards direction, and this as Jüthner sees is implied in the ἔξω ἀγῶνος of *Pyth.* i. 44. an expression which is not synonymous with τέρμα προβάς

ἔλπομαι
μὴ χαλκοπάραον ἄκονθ' ὡσείτ' ἀγῶ-
νος βαλεῖν ἔξω παλάμᾳ δονέων,
μακρὰ δὲ ῥίψαις ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους.

How many throws were allowed we cannot say. The fact that on the vases youths are represented frequently with two, more rarely with three javelins in their hands, renders it probable that two or three throws were allowed, but the evidence is not conclusive.[51] Nor do the javelins which we see so commonly in palaestra scenes stuck in the gronnd allow us to conclude that no throw counted unless the javelin stuck in the ground; an impossible condition with blunt points. Nor do we know how the throw was measured. In the stadium of Epidaurus there are a number of short square blocks facing one another on either side at fairly regular intervals which may well have served for measuring the throw of the diskos or spear like the measured boards on either side of the modern long jump.[52]

Towards the close of the fifth century increased importance was given to the javelin as the weapon of light-armed troops and of the Epheboi; and from the fourth century onwards we find ἀκοντισμός quoted in inscriptions as a separate competition at Athens and elsewhere.[53] The association of the javelin and the bow suggests that in these competitions some sort of target was used. At all events the case cited by Antiphon proves that javelin throwing at a mark with a sharp weapon was practised in the Gymnasia. But the only direct evidence for such a competition apart from that on horseback is furnished by two inscriptions from Larisa of the time of Hadrian which mention victors σκοπῷ πεζῶν and σκοπῷ ἱππέων.[54] Of the details of these competitions nothing is known.

E.—*Competitions on Horseback.*

From an early date the javelin had been employed by horsemen both in war and in the chase. At Athens especially horsemanship was the duty and also the recreation of the richer classes. Plato tells us that Themistocles himself taught his son Cleophantus not only to ride, but to throw the javelin

[51] Nothing can be proved from the Cean inscription which records 3 λόγχαι as a prize for spear-throwing. *I.G.* 2360; Ditt. *Syll.*² ii. 522.

[52] Πρακτικά, 1902

[53] Ceos, Sestos, Tralles, Samos, Larisa: *c. supra*, n. 21. At Athens we hear of it first in an inscription relating to the Thesea, B.C. 160–1. There is no mention of ἀκοντισμός or ἀκοντιστής after the commencement of our era.

[54] Ditt. *Syll.*² ii. 670, 671.

standing on horseback and other wonderful tricks, and in the *Laws* he recommends javelin throwing on horseback as a useful accomplishment.[55] Somewhat earlier Xenophon in his treatise on the duties of a cavalry officer urges the latter to encourage his men to practise javelin throwing, and to stir up emulation among them by offering prizes.[56] They are not merely to practise individually, but in sham fights, using *ἐσφαιρωμένα ἀκόντια*. In his discourse on Horsemanship he gives further instructions. Velocity and distance are the most important points for war. To secure these the thrower must advance the left side of the body and draw back the right, straightening himself from the thighs, and holding the javelin pointed slightly upwards. If however the object is simply accuracy, the javelin should point straight at the mark. At Athens there seem to have been competitions in this sport as early as the fifth century. It is mentioned in an early fourth-century inscription, where among the prizes for the Panathenaea five amphorae of oil are assigned for the first prize, and one for the second *ἀφ' ἵππου ἀκοντίζοντι*.[57] In the second century *ἀφ' ἵππου ἀκοντίζειν* occurs in inscriptions relating to the Thesea.[58] In Thessaly, a land always famous for its horses, we find *σκοπῷ ἱππέων* mentioned in the Larisa inscription of the time of Hadrian referred to above.[59]

Fortunately we are able to supplement these scanty notices by three vases actually representing this competition. A fifth-century aryballos from Eretria, now at Athens,[60] a fourth-century r.-f. krater in the Louvre,[61] and a hitherto unpublished Panathenaic amphora presented by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman to the British Museum (Pl. XX). In all three the target is a shield or similar object with a crown forming a sort of bull's-eye in the centre, raised on a post to the level of the horses' heads. On all three vases the competitors gallop past this target, hurling their javelins at it as they pass. On the B. M. vase the javelins are represented roughly by a single line, on the other two vases they have regular leaf-shaped heads: they are held a little above the shoulder, with the point directed somewhat downwards towards the target.

On the Eretria vase the riders wear petasoi, elaborately striped chitones secured by a belt, and high boots. The first rider has already thrown his weapon, but his right arm is still extended to the front. His javelin is in mid air, having missed the target. Another javelin lies broken below the target. There is nothing on any of these vases to indicate that the competitors started with two javelins and threw both as they passed the target. If we see extra javelins in the field, they merely indicate that there are more competitors than can be represented on the vase space. Some conventional shrubs on this vase suggest that the sport takes place in the open country. In the fifth century there was probably no hippodrome at Athens, and the

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[55] *Meno*, 93 *d* ; *Leg.* 834 *d*.

[56] *Hipparch.* i. 6. Cf. *de re eq.* viii. 10.

[57] *I G.* ii. 965.

[58] *Ib.* ii. 444, 446, *Ath. Mitth.* xxx (1905), p. 213.

[59] Ditt. *Syll.*[2] ii. 671.

[60] Collignon, 1478.

[61] Millin, i. 45. Both vases are reproduced and discussed in P. Wolters *Zu Griechischen Agonen* (*Würzburg Program* 1901).

Panathenaea were held somewhere in the deme of Echelidae near the Peiraeus.

The krater in the Louvre has a yet more festal appearance. Of the three riders one has already thrown his javelin, the other two are about to throw. They wear chitones like the riders on the Eretria vase, but no boots, and instead of the petasoi they have crowns on their heads, while over them hover two winged victories bearing crowns.

These two vases were connected by Welcker with ἡ ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίς, but Wolters rightly refers them to τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ἀκοντίζειν. Their festal character suggests a definite connexion with some festival, but what festival

Fig. 16.—Panathenaic Amphora in British Museum. B 146.

we cannot say. The sport was probably a common one in Attica, Thessaly, and other horse-breeding lands, and formed an attractive feature of other festivals, besides the Panathenaea and the Thesea. There is certainly no ground for connecting the vases with the Argive Heraea.

The B.M. vase figured in Plate XX needs no detailed description. The riders wear the regulation dress of the Athenian ephebos, a bright-bordered chiton fastened over the left shoulder and the petasos. A similar ephebos occurs on another Panathenaic amphora in the British Museum (Fig. 16). He carries two javelins, and beside him stands another youth naked, and on foot, also bearing javelins. Whether this vase was a prize for the same event, we cannot say for certain. It may have been connected with those com-

petitions for εὐανδρία and εὐοπλία mentioned in inscriptions, of the details of which we are completely ignorant. The immense variety of competitions at the Panathenaea is best illustrated by the well-known Panathenaic vase representing an acrobat tumbling.[62]

There remains yet another Panathenaic vase, figured by Gerhard in his *Etruskische und Campanische Vasenbilder*.[63] Here we see four youths galloping to the right, but they are naked: there is no target, and their javelins are blunt, if we can judge from the illustration. Clearly we have to do with quite a different event, perhaps with some sort of sham fight such as is described by Xenophon, which in later times developed into a competition.[64]

We must think of the Panathenaea as partly a vast military tournament with a variety of displays and military competitions, which must have appealed greatly to the spectacle loving populace of Athens. Not the least attractive event was τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ἀκοντίζειν, an event which finds its modern analogy in such competitions as heads and posts or lemon-cutting. Of its details and regulations we know nothing. Its popularity is shown by the number of vases representing it; but that it did not rank as a serious athletic event is proved by the fact that only five amphorae were given for the first prize and one for the second.

The javelin has been admirably treated by Dr. Jüthner in his *Antike Turngeräthe*, to which I owe much. I have endeavoured to avoid covering the same ground and to deal with points which he has discussed less fully. I have received considerable assistance from the practical experience of Colonel V. Balck, and also from Mr. Henry Balfour of Oxford. The vases from the British Museum are published by kind permission of Mr. Cecil Smith from drawings by Mr. Anderson.

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

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[62] Salzman *Necropole de Camiros*, Pl. XXXVII; Schreiber *Atlas* xxiv. 2.

[63] i. Pl. A. 3. 4: *Annal.*, ii. 1830. p. 223. 9; *Comptes Rendus*, 1876, p. 52.

[64] *Hipparch.* i. 20: *I.G.* 1921.

TWO NOTES ON PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA.

I.

THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE MESSENIANS AT THE CAPTURE OF THE SPARTAN FORCE ON SPHACTERIA.

THUCYDIDES (iv. 36) describes the last phase of the long contest which led to the surrender of the 292 surviving Spartans on Sphacteria.

They had gradually retired to the summit of the hill at the north end of the island,—an altitude of something under 500 feet,[1] and were making their last stand in the neighbourhood of the *παλαιὸν ἔρυμα* mentioned by Thucydides, which had once defended this summit, and of which small fragments are yet to be seen. These fragments are still there, for since prehistoric times this practically waterless island has probably never had inhabitants except a few nomad goatherds.

The ground,—working round west, north, east, south,—is as follows, and the photographs reproduced will help to make it clear (Fig. 1, and Plan) To the S.W. is the long slope up which the Spartans had been slowly retiring from their camp on the low level in the centre of the island. To the west the hill falls, not very steeply, to a saddle; and from this and all sides except (as they thought) the east, the Spartans were exposed to attack; then comes a shoulder before the ground slopes away westward to the open sea. To the north a steep but easy rockstrewn descent leads to the narrow Sikia channel dividing Sphacteria from Pylos (*J.H.S.* vol. xviii. Part I, Plate IV.). To the E. of the summit there are rocks and a small cliff 30 to 40 feet high, presenting no difficulty to a climber, which drops down into a fairly level notch (hereinafter to be called 'the notch') some thirty yards wide and easily visible at a distance from a northerly and southerly direction (Figs. 1, 4, 6, 7); and eastward of the notch the precipice descends almost sheer some 400 ft. to the water of the Bay of Navarino, the *λιμήν* of this part of Thucydides.

To the south of this cliff and opening into the south end of the notch there is a steep gully—'the gully,'—leading down to the water, apparently scalable in its whole length, though *we* only tested the upper part. South

[1] Mr. Grundy's survey (*J.H.S.* vol. xvi.) makes both Pylos and Sphacteria 450 feet in height, and their equality is confirmed by photographs.

again of the gully the line of cliff is quite precipitous, in places actually overhanging (see Figs. 2, 3). But at the foot of this cliff there runs a narrow ledge at the top of an exceedingly steep slope of varying height above the water; and along this ledge, for the most part quite close under the overhanging precipice (Fig. 3), a goat-track may be followed from the Panagia landing-place to the gully. The distance from this landing-place to the

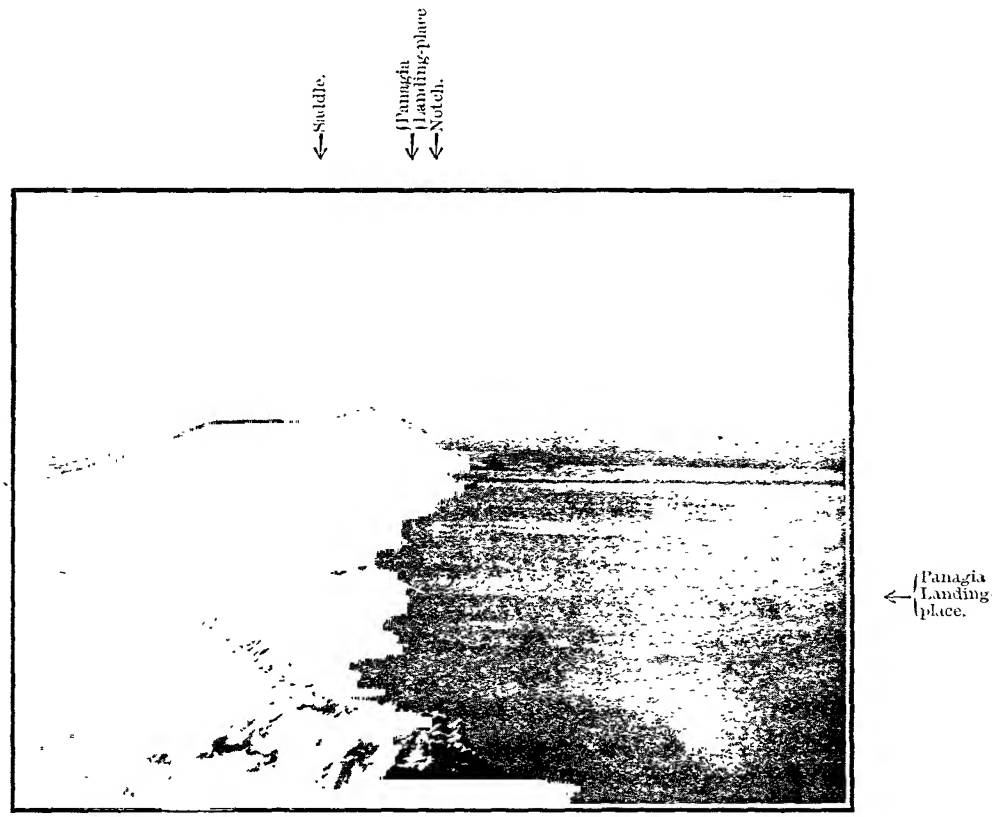


FIG. 1.—GENERAL VIEW NORTHWARDS FROM CLIFFS SOUTH OF THE PANAGIA.

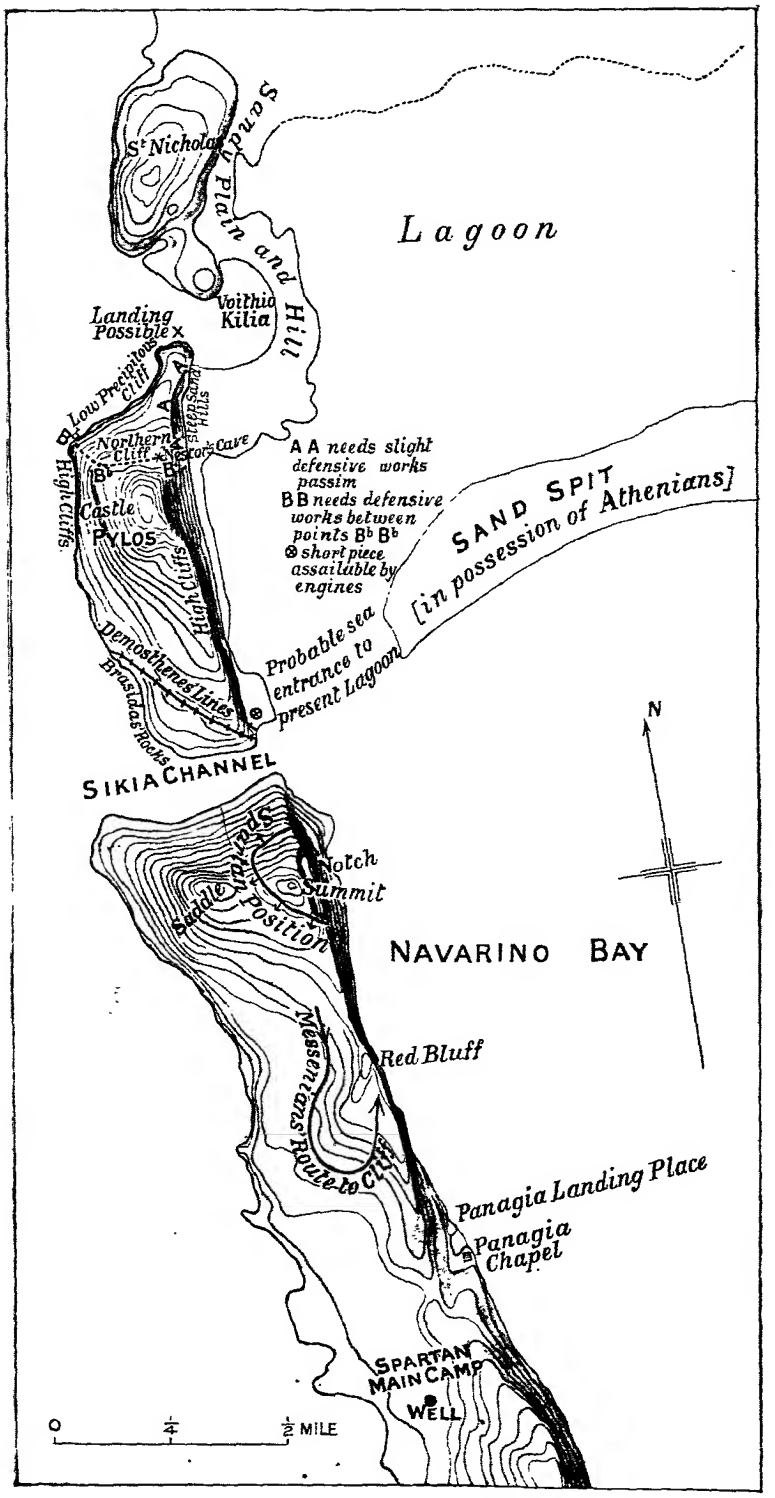
notch and summit would appear from Grundy's map (of which our Plan is an adaptation) to be a few yards under a mile.

The data we find in Thucydides for determining the route taken by the Messenian force are as follows:

1. They leave the Athenian main body at a point from which their commander has just been able to communicate with Cleon and Demosthenes; and

2. They reach their starting-point without attracting attention.

3. They are perhaps led by someone who has reason to think a way along the cliff exists which will take the Spartans in rear, though he does not know



PLAN OF PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA. (After Grundy's Survey. *J.H.S.* Vol. xvi.)

N.B.—*The Saddle is at the point occupied by letter P in 'Position.'*

it in detail. A Messenian exile from Naupactus might have some such reminiscences of childhood.

4. Their track was out of sight of both friends and foes upon Sphacteria: they were only seen when they appeared upon the summit.

5. It lay along the face of the cliff wherever the ground allowed a footing (*κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον τοῦ κρημνώδους*).

6. The summit was gained behind the backs of the Spartans: the Messenians when they appeared were *above* them.

7. The ground where the Messenians appeared was unguarded, owing to the natural protection that the precipice was expected to afford.

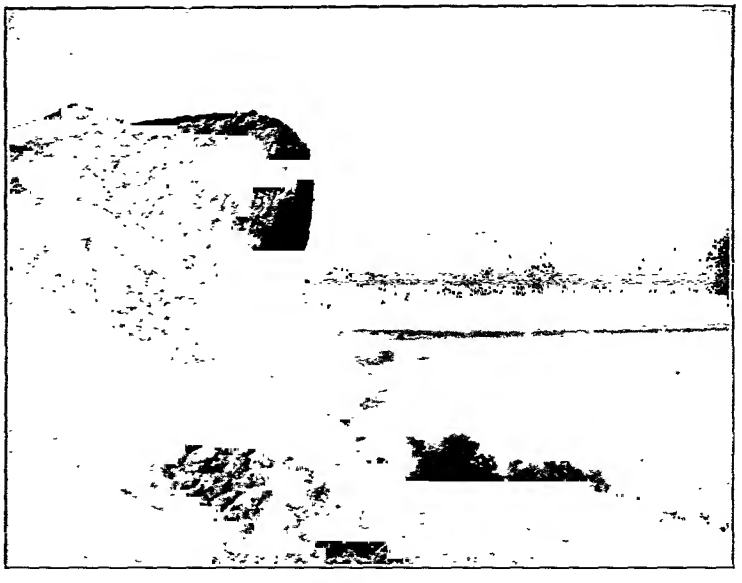


FIG. 2.—RED BLUFF FROM SOUTH.
The Messenians' starting-point would be this side of it. Summit visible beyond (left).

With these data before us we are surely justified in drawing the inference that it was in the notch that the Messenians gathered their forces before they ascended to the summit.

For the route taken by the Messenian general from the time he left the Athenian main body to the notch there are three conceivable alternatives:

A. That they moved round the northern shore, from the west, and then clambered up the steep but not precipitous north-east corner, reaching the notch at its *north* end (Fig. 6).

B. That they took boats from the Panagia landing-place either to the foot of the gully or to the north-east corner of the island, and thence climbed up either to the south or to the north end of the notch.

C. That they crept along the face of the cliff from the south till they reached the gully, and then ascended to the south end of the notch.

To the selection of the most probable of these alternatives the following remarks may seem to offer some guidance:

A may be dismissed: for although the ascent from the north-east might possibly, but by no means certainly, be out of sight, yet so short is the distance from the Spartan line of defence to the Sikia channel that the movement of some 200 men (we can hardly suppose less were employed)

FIG. 3.—RED BLUFF AND OUR ROUTE BETWEEN CLIFF AND BUSHES; LOOKING S.
Goat-track at foot of cliff.

along this northern foot of the island to their starting-point could hardly have passed unnoticed. Furthermore the ascent from the north-east does not in any way correspond with the difficult climbing suggested by Thucydides' narrative.

B is open to the objection that (though various writers, including Professor Bury, have assumed the use of boats) there is no mention or hint of such use in Thucydides' narrative, and the whole reads like a land opera-

tion; while a flotilla of boats would be far more likely to be seen than climbers along the cliff.

C. To prove the possibility—and to plead the probability—of this route, we offer the following account of a scramble, successfully achieved on April 25, 1906, which appears to be the first recorded ascent on the part of anyone endeavouring to trace the whole route of the Messenians from start to finish.

After landing at the Panagia we followed at first two different routes,

FIG. 4.—LOOKING N. FROM ALMOST THE SAME POINT AS FIG. 3.
The part farthest to the right is Pylos.

one along the shore close to the water's edge[2]; the other ascending to the ground above the cliff and following this in a northerly direction till within sight of the summit and the position that would be covered by the Athenian main force, near which the interview would have taken place between the Messenian leader and the Athenian generals.

Here then we should have the Messenian starting-point (Fig. 2), and they would move down over the edge of the cliff without attracting attention, because (1) the distance from the Spartans was nearly a mile (2) the whole

[2] This so far as we could judge *might*, with a little wading, have proved a possible track, but the probabilities seem all in favour of the other, and we are not in a position to assert the practicability of the water's edge route.

intervening ground was crowded with troops and (3) thick with the dust of the burnt brushwood.

Their route led in a few minutes to a point from which the summit and the Spartans' last stand became invisible owing to the interposition of a bluff (Fig. 2), which falls precipitously to the bay, almost, or quite, overhanging (see Figs. 2, 3). This bluff is a conspicuous point, being about the last shoulder but one from the summit, and its face is more red than the rest of the line of cliffs.[3] From this spot the Messenians' clamber would have commenced (Plan and Fig. 2). The descent from the ridge at this point, though fairly steep, presents no difficulty whatever. At the foot of the cliff some 50 ft. above the water's edge our two routes joined, and from thence

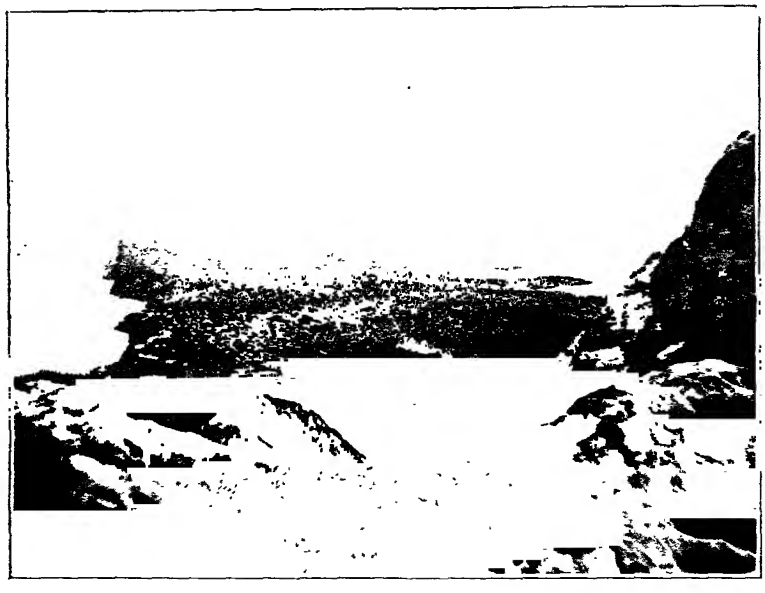


Fig. 5.—Looking down from the notch, southward.
Showing top of the gully, and on the right the rocks leading to the summit.

we proceeded together practically all the way to the top, using a goat-track (Fig. 3) that rose and fell keeping close under the main cliff, the general trend of the track being upwards, so that we gradually rose to a considerable height above the water, having on our right all the way a full view of the harbour and the sand-bar with the lagoon beyond it, and occasionally catching sight of the notch (Fig. 4).[1] Here and there a ledge had to be traversed requiring hand- as well as foot-hold; but both were always forthcoming, so that there was no point of difficulty for anyone used to rough country. After going for about half an hour we saw before us the gully mentioned by Professor Burrows (*J.H.S.* vol. xvi. Part 1, 1896) which was our

[3] It can easily be identified also in the photograph taken from Voithio-Kilia (Fig. 7).

objective. Professor Burrows assumes that the Messenians reached the foot of this gully by boat and ascended it all the way to the notch. It has however been shown that our track fulfils the requirements of the narrative, in which no mention is made of the water. We had started from a point where the Athenian generals could be conferred with, the whole route was completely out of sight, the cliffs rising vertically above us to a height of 200 ft. or more, and our track following the cliff as best we could find a footing (*κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον*). No better cover could be desired (see the illustrations).

On reaching the gully in about three quarters of an hour from the start, we proceeded straight up it till our way was closed by a projecting buttress only allowing of an ascent by a chimney, which involved the use of the back and knee, for 12 or 15 ft. After this point, which one of us avoided by descending to the main gully,—a wider hollow to the north of the buttress,—there was no difficulty, except the thickness of the bushes, in proceeding upwards to the notch. The head of the gully was reached in something less than 1½ hour from the start. From the notch to the summit, as has been shown, the final scramble of the Messenians would be accomplished in a very few minutes: so that we may conclude that they were sighted on the summit within 1½ hour of the time when they offered to the Athenian generals the prospect of seeing the Spartans outflanked.

Incidentally also another point comes out. We were of course in full view of everything to the east and north-east of us; and had the Spartans been in possession of any part of the sand-spit they would have been near enough to have found some means of attracting their friends' attention to the Messenians' movement, which clearly they were not. They must therefore have had their camp at a distance away to the east or north-east of the lagoon. However, this remark applies equally to whichever of the three alternative routes we select.

W. C. COMPTON.
H. AWDRY.

II.

THE LAND DEFENCE OF PYLOS (see Plan, p. 276).

I had greatly wished also to investigate thoroughly the competing lines of the Athenian defence of Pylos on the land side, but time ran short before I had by any means satisfied myself; indeed, if I express an opinion at all, it must be with most humble apologies to those of much greater local and archaeological knowledge than myself.

In a former article on the strategy at Pylos and Sphacteria (*J.H.S.* vol. xx. 1900) I ventured to point out that Demosthenes' line of defence would have been governed by the following three military considerations: (1) the least possible amount of building to be done, (2) the fortress to be reduced in size as far as possible, (3) all dangerous or doubtful ground to be left *outside* the fortress.

The competing lines are two: (*A*) that favoured by Mr. Grundy and shown in his map (*J.H.S.* vol. xvi, of which the Plan in this article is an adaptation), viz. a line running north and south along the sand-hills in continuation of the east cliff of Pylos northward to Voithio-Kilia; (*B*) that favoured by Professor Burrows, a line running east and west along the high part of the north cliff of Pylos, from Nestor's cave westwards, with a wall to continue it from the western end of this cliff to the north-west corner of Pylos peninsula, where the western precipices overhanging the sea become high.

Of this (*A*) gives a strong line, for the sand-hills are very steep and sand-climbing is very difficult (Fig. 6), and the piece where a wall would have to be made is short; but it leaves much more ground on Pylos for the defenders

Fig. 6.—View of Pylos and Sphacteria from the N.

The photograph illustrates the epithet 'Sandy' as applied to Pylos.

to hold, including a very considerably longer piece of coast. This coast is for the most part low, but sheer, precipice; but I saw one spot,—and there may have been more, for I had not time to go all round,—at the promontory forming the south side of the entrance to Voithio-Kilia (Fig. 7), where a ship or two could have landed men if unopposed, and these once landed could with ropes or otherwise have helped their comrades up elsewhere. Demosthenes therefore if he held line (*A*) must certainly have spared men from his small force to watch this coast, a necessity he would of course wish to avoid.

As to line (*B*), the northern cliff is really impregnable, and gaps in it have been at some time strengthened by fortifications rough and otherwise. The chief piece of fortification here is of so regular a character that it cannot be part of Demosthenes' hasty building, and would probably belong, like the extensive Greek foundations on which the neighbouring mediaeval castle on

the summit is built, to the permanent Athenian fort held by them from B.C. 425 to 413. The only vulnerable point is the north-west corner between the north cliff and the sea; and without discussing the question whether the still remaining wall near that point is the Athenians' work or not, there would have been no difficulty in the time at Demosthenes' disposal in supplying an adequate wall. It would therefore seem likely that Demosthenes would be adhering best to military principles in taking the line (*B*); and that although this line gave him perhaps slightly more building, he would

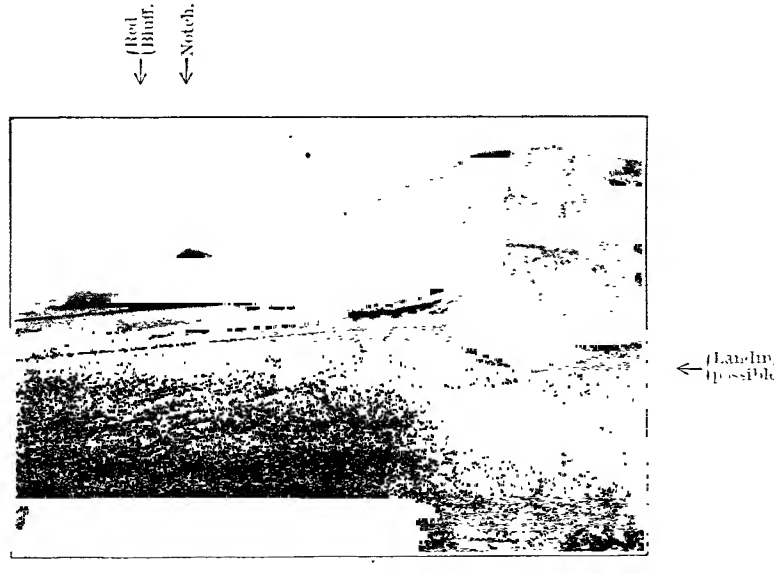


FIG. 7.—VIEW OF PYLOS AND SPHACTERIA FROM THE N. BOUNDARY OF VOIHIO-KILIA. Nestor's cave may be distinguished here also.

prefer to contract his fortress, economise men, and leave the low sea cliffs and the low ground at the northern end of Pylos outside his fortress.

We must remember that in speaking of Pylos we are dealing with a place where, unlike Sphacteria, there has been much fighting subsequently to Demosthenes: (1) in the 12 years of the Athenian occupation, (2) in the Middle Ages as evidenced by the castle on the summit and the tower at the south-east corner, (3) in the War of Independence; and that there are the remains of buildings of all manner of periods upon the peninsula.

To what period do the numerous skeletons sticking out of the ground at the southern end of Pylos over the Sikia Channel belong?

H. AWDRY.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE.

(1906—1907.)

THE archaeological activities of the twelvemonth from July 1906 to June 1907, with which this paper deals, have been very numerous. Not only are there many smaller discoveries of interest to be recorded, but also the more important excavations, the French at Delos, the German at Pergamon, to which may now be added those of the British School at Sparta, have made considerable progress. Especially important is the scheme for excavating the Agora and the northern slopes of the Acropolis at Athens, now at last begun after many difficulties by the Greek Archaeological Society.

The work is under the direct supervision of the General Ephor of Antiquities, Dr. Kavvadhias, with a committee consisting of the Crown Prince as chairman, the president of the University, the mayor of Athens and the directors of the foreign Schools of Archaeology. A beginning has been made by the demolition of some houses near the Theseum. The scheme embraces the clearing of the whole of the northern slopes of the Acropolis, the Agora, and in general, the region between the Tower of the Winds and the Theseum. This area is entirely covered with houses, and this has given rise to serious difficulties. These are now in a fair way to be overcome, and great results are to be expected in the course of the next few years.

Another interesting excavation at Athens was in progress in August of this year at the Dipylon Gate under the direction of Dr. Brückner and M. Skias. They have proved that all the monuments were in family groups, and stood, not level with the road, but on built platforms some nine feet high. Each family had its own platform. There is also evidence for dating all the monuments to the period between the year 393, the date of the Dexileos Stele, and 317 B.C.

Perhaps the most important excavation of the Society is that conducted in the autumn of 1906 by Dr. Stais at Sunium. Whilst digging near the temple, in the hope of finding relics of the period before the Persian Wars, he hit upon a cleft in the artificially smoothed platform of rock, upon which the temple stands. In this he found two colossal archaic male statues of the 'Apollo' type, with the base and feet of a third, and the base and feet of a fourth figure, that was possibly female. They were associated with Corinthian pottery. One of the 'Apollos' has lost its head, and has been left, with the base, at Sunium. The other is now in the centre of the

Archaic Room in the National Museum at Athens, where its huge stature—it is eleven feet high—dwarfs all the other 'Apollos' amongst which it stands. In style it belongs to the more advanced class, with one foot forward, and the arms nearly free. It is complete, but for the shins and part of the face. These have now been restored with plaster, unfortunately of so nearly the same brown as the statue itself, that it is difficult to see exactly what is old and what new.

Its original position is proved by the discovery on the rock-platform outside the temple of a hewn square depression, that exactly fits the base. All four statues were probably dedications set up outside the temple, where their size must have made them conspicuous objects from the sea. Since the Persian invasion they have lain in the cleft in which they were found.[1]

Dr. Klon Stephanos has continued his researches in the prehistoric cemeteries of Naxos and Syros. These are all of the Cycladic period, with the skeletons lying on the side and the legs drawn up, and have yielded a great number of characteristic objects, marble female idols, obsidian knives and hand-made pottery, either incised or, later, painted with geometrical patterns. Dr. Stephanos is of opinion that the relative age of the tombs is indicated by this, but still more by the greater or less quantity of bronze present.

These cemeteries, which have now been found in so many of the Cyclades, suggest some problems that have as yet hardly been answered. Where are the corresponding settlements, such as that of which scanty remains were found at the lowest levels at Phylakopi, and why are the remains between this period and the Mycenean age so scanty? These Cycladic cemeteries with their 'Amorgine' culture are contemporary with Early Minoan III in the Cretan scheme, and abound all over the Cyclades. For the succeeding Middle Minoan and Late Minoan I and II periods we have in the Cyclades only Phylakopi in Melos, some vases from Paros, and the prehistoric finds in Thera. For the Mycenean period (Late Minoan III) the case is almost the same: very little has come from the islands. It would seem as if there were three periods in the Bronze Age. In the first, that of the 'Cycladic' or 'Amorgine' cemeteries—the Early Minoan of Crete—the Cyclades held the first place in the Aegean world, and largely influenced Crete.[2] In the second they gave way to Crete, the highest point of whose culture Dr. Evans puts in Middle Minoan III. In the third and last period the mainland of Greece took the lead. Only all through the obsidian trade enabled Melos to hold a good position. It is much to be hoped that some other prehistoric settlement like Phylakopi will be excavated, to give in the light of present knowledge a continuous picture of Bronze Age culture in the islands.

At the Amphiareum at Oropos M. Leonardos has found a fountain and the remains of houses and shops that were used for the accommodation of pilgrims to the shrine.

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* 1906, p. 363. To be fully published in the Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.

[2] See below, the notices of tombs of the Cycladic style near Chalkis and on the island of Pseira off Crete.

Near Chalkis, M. Papavasileiou has excavated a number of tombs, some Mycenean and some said to resemble the Cycladic burials. Many vases are reported. The Mycenean tombs are at a place called Vromoúsa, and belong to the very end of the period. One tomb even contained a geometric vase. The 'Cycladic' tombs are at Mánika, about an hour from Chalkis, and consist of the tomb proper, covered with slabs, and a small *dromos*. Two marble idols were found, one female, and badly baked pottery. I have not seen the objects.

Besides continuing his work in Lokris and at Thermon in Aetolia, Dr Sotiriadhis has excavated neolithic sites at Chaeronea and Drachmáni. No metal was found, but celts, obsidian, and hand-made pottery. Of this some is black polished ware ornamented with incised patterns, and some has geometric patterns in red paint, and resembles the very remarkable pottery found in the neolithic settlements at Sésklo and Dimíni in Thessaly. This northern Greek neolithic seems to have no connexion with the Aegean culture of Crete and southern Greece, but to have its allies rather in the north and west. The pottery has resemblances to that found by Dr. Doerpfeld in Leukas, and its context seems to be far more European than Aegean. The celts from Thessaly, it is noticeable, have squared edges, and are entirely different from those so common in southern Greece and Crete. The special importance of an examination and comparison of these remains, for the most part still unfortunately unpublished, appears below in the discussion of Dr. Doerpfeld's recent discoveries.

The work of M. Skias at Corinth will be mentioned in connexion with the American excavation.

An interesting discovery is announced from Thebes. In the middle of the modern town, which occupies the site of the Kadmeia, a Mycenean house has been accidentally discovered, and partly excavated by M. Keramópoulos. It contained fragments of wall paintings, one shewing a forehead with curls, another a face, and others parts of the hair. Besides these, which formed part of figure subjects, is a piece shewing a lily. There were also five very large pseudamphorae, as much as two feet high, and two hundred or more cups and Mycenean kylikes, many absolutely new, as if from a shop. The house had been destroyed by fire. The site is to be expropriated, and fully cleared. Mycenean remains have been found before at Thebes, but nothing so promising as this house, which from its central situation and fine paintings seems likely to be a palace or building of some importance.

Great activity has been shewn this year in building and enlarging Museums, and for this work, which is more useful and necessary than showy, the Archaeological Society deserves great credit and the thanks of all archaeologists. The General Ephor, Dr. Kavvadhias, recognizes that it is not only necessary to dig up antiquities, but also to preserve and exhibit them adequately, and all students reap the benefits of this wise policy. The general tendency is now towards building local Museums, and, although this involves the visitor in a good deal of travelling, it is often an advantage to see the objects in the place where they were found.

Thus at Epidauros Dr. Kavvadhias has, besides conducting a supplementary excavation, arranged the Museum, and taken measures for the safety of the architectural remains. Study of the architectural fragments has also enabled him to erect in the Museum reconstructed parts of the more important buildings.

Other work of this kind has been undertaken at the temple of Bassae, where the walls have been almost entirely rebuilt from old material, and the half-columns inside the temple re-erected.

At Corinth, the old temple and Peirene are being put into a safe condition.

Nor have medieval buildings been neglected, and the Greeks no longer deserve the reproach that they are careless of the monuments of their later history. In particular, the Byzantine churches at Mistrá, which were in a very dangerous state, are being repaired under the care of M. Adhamandíou.

A new museum has been built at Lycosura, to exhibit the colossal group of Despoina, Demeter, Artemis, and Anytus by Damophon. The actual work of re-erecting the statues is now in hand, and casts of the pieces in Athens have been sent to Lycosura. The work has been undertaken by M. Kourouniotis, and the sculptures have been the object of a special study by Mr. Dickins of the British School, who has the permission of the authorities to publish the reconstructed group. M. Kourouniotis has also excavated round the temple, finding a part of the wall of the sacred enclosure.

The enlargement of the Museum at Sparta is mentioned below.

A museum has been built at Corcyra, near the tomb of Menecrates, and the programme of the Society includes the building of several more of these local Museums, which add so much to the pleasure of travel in Greece, and have moreover the advantage that objects in themselves of minor importance are not lost, as they are apt to be, in a very large central Museum.[3]

This year was the second season of the work of the British School at Sparta. The further excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and of the city wall continued work begun in 1906. New ground has been broken by the discovery of the site of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos.

The main objective was the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The buildings at this site are a temple built probably in the sixth century B.C., and lasting on until the third century A.D., although rebuilt during the Hellenistic period. Secondly, a Roman theatre, built at the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D., in which the façade of the temple was included, occupying the position of the stage building. The Roman theatre has now been completely cleared. In the arena or orchestral area were found the remains of the altar, built at the same Roman period as the theatre itself. Beneath this altar were blocks that belonged to the altar of Hellenistic times,

[3] These notes have been largely drawn up from the Πρακτικά of 1906 of the Greek Archaeological Society.

and in connexion with them a deposit of burnt refuse from sacrifices and some late Greek sherds and terra-cottas.

More than a metre below the Hellenistic level a deposit of archaic Greek objects was reached: this has now been cleared down to solid earth all over the arena and inside the temple. Above the archaic deposit was a layer of sand which had been brought from the river to raise the level when the temple was built—probably, to judge from the objects found in the sand, about the middle of the sixth century B.C. The deposit below the sand is in parts as much as a metre thick, and ranges in time from the eighth, or possibly the ninth, century to the middle of the sixth century B.C. Very near the bottom of this structure is a cobble pavement, on which stands a large altar built of stones in regular courses. This altar is directly below the Hellenistic and Roman altars. The temple that existed contemporaneously with it has not yet been found, but there are indications that its remains are below the foundations of the Roman building. This archaic altar was surrounded by a mass of burnt matter, amongst which were a quantity of fragments of burnt bones. The surrounding deposit contained a great number of small objects and pottery. It was dug in layers, with the result that at the lowest levels no pottery except 'Geometric' was found; above this, 'Geometric' mixed with 'Protocorinthian' and a ware akin to 'Corinthian,' whilst at the highest levels nothing but this last kind occurred. With the pottery were found a large number of small bronzes, pins, fibulae, and animals, lead figurines, and carved ivories. These latter were either small figures of animals or men in the round, seals with devices cut in intaglio, or plaques with scenes carved on them in relief. Many, if not all, of these plaques were fastened by bronze rivets on to the front of fibulae. The subjects represented on them comprise male or female winged figures grasping birds, a warrior stabbing a gorgon, a dead man on a bier, a ship with full rigging and crew, sphinxes, a man on horseback, and others. Jewellery, engraved gems, terra-cotta figurines, some representing probably the image of the goddess, fragments of terra-cotta masks, and other objects were also found. The occurrence of amber, in view of the northern origin of the Dorians and of its rarity on classical sites, is of great interest.

Thus the cult of Orthia began in the earliest times with a large altar and probably a temple. This altar was covered up when the temple corresponding to it was destroyed in the sixth century, and a new temple built a little way off, the level being at the same time raised by the layer of sand mentioned above. In Hellenistic times this temple was rebuilt, but lasted on on the same site until the end of paganism. Under the late empire it was surrounded by a theatre, from which the rites performed in front of it could be conveniently witnessed. The altar always was in the same place, which it occupied with ever-rising level for at least 1100 years. Except one stray lentoid gem, nothing whatever of the Mycenean period has been found.

The sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos was found behind the theatre on the Acropolis Hill. A mass of geometric pottery shews that this sanctuary also goes back to a very early period. The building itself was much destroyed,

but the finds were important. A very fine Panathenaic amphora, bronze statuettes, and a large archaic inscription were found, which proved to continue, though not to complete, the well-known 'Damonon' inscription.

The work of tracing the course of the ancient city wall was continued. This has again been done largely by the discovery of tiles stamped with the information that they were public tiles used for the walls. The name of the tyrant Nabis found on some of them connects the building of the wall with him. In a few places the actual wall has been found with remains of towers.

In looking for the Agora some Hellenistic tombs were found, well built of ashlar, and containing vases and discs of stout gold-leaf chased with patterns of wreaths and flying birds. These bracteates, some of which are double, are imitations of Sicyonian coins.

It is proposed next year to continue the work of the Orthia Sanctuary by removing some of the Roman foundations, and thus getting at the archaic deposit below them. In especial it is hoped that the temple connected with the archaic altar will be found. There is also more work to be done in digging a mass of 'Geometric' deposit at the Chalkioikos site.

An excavation at the site usually known as Cape Sepias on the Magnesian peninsula resulted in the discovery of a church with a fine mosaic pavement, and some tombs of the 'Geometric' period. The vases found in them resemble the Geometric ware of northern Thessaly, of which specimens have been found in the Islands and in Crete.

The year's work in Crete shews that the island is by no means exhausted. The excavation by the British School at Palaikastro and that by the University of Pennsylvania at Gourniá are finished, but fresh discoveries of the greatest interest still continue to be made. Dr. Evans at Knosos, Dr. Xanthoudhídhis at the Early Minoan Settlement of Koumása in the Messará plain, and Mr. Seager at a new site on the island of Pseíra, have all done work as important as any that has preceded, and at all three sites work is to be continued for at least another year. The greatest promise for the future is still at Knosos, where Dr. Evans has shewn that much still remains to be done, before it will be possible to regard the Palace as fully excavated.

A building with remains dating from Middle Minoan III, the period regarded by Dr. Evans as the highwatermark of the Minoan civilization, has been found underneath the pavement of the West Court, and a close examination of the already excavated parts of the Palace has yielded remarkable results. These have been so fully described by Dr. Evans himself in the letter to the *Times*[4] from which these notes are taken that it is not necessary here to do more than briefly note the more important. The restoration of the wall-painting in the miniature style representing a Minoan temple has been completed, and the rains of several winters have so washed the Palace walls that on the west Façade of the Central Palace Court marks of the bases of two pairs of small columns have been observed. These fit

[4] Appearing in the *Times* (*Weekly Ed.*) of July 19th, 1907.

the columns on the painting so well that, combined with other indications, they shew that here was the façade of such a building as is shewn in the painting.

Almost equally striking is the discovery of the actual foundation of the stepway that led up to the halls above the basement rooms of the west wing. A large south-western quarter of the Palace hitherto unsuspected has been found, and a huge beehive chamber cut in the rock. This is probably a great tomb, and its exploration is as full of promise as anything else on this truly wonderful site.

Dr. Luigi Pernier of the Italian Archaeological Mission has kindly furnished notes on the work this spring at Phaistos and Priniá.

At Phaistos the excavation of the earlier palace, remains of which exist below the floors of the later building, has yielded good results. A square room has been found, and in the middle of it a round cavity containing lamps, Kamáres pottery, and burnt bones. The latter are considered by the excavators to prove it to be a sacrificial pit.

The position of the remains of the different periods one above another has been examined by means of a special trial-pit. The foundations of the earlier (Middle Minoan) palace were found to go down to about twelve feet below the pavement of the later palace. Below these foundations were found walls made of small stones belonging to a still earlier building, which in its turn rests on the Neolithic deposit. The general resemblance to the results at Knosos is striking. At both sites there are the two palaces, and underneath them the thick layer of Neolithic remains.

Work has also been done on the later palace, where a careful examination of the walls has allowed conclusions to be drawn as to the size and disposition of the now destroyed upper story. The area on the highest part of the acropolis which, from the discovery of two columns, had been already called the *peristilio*, has been cleared, and now justifies its name. A square court has been revealed, no doubt open to the sky, surrounded by twelve columns, four on each side, with a portico running all round. In the hot but windy climate of Crete such a cloistered court must have been a great feature in a building, providing shelter from sun and wind alike.

Later in the season the excavators resumed work at Priniá, an elevated site that overlooks the road from Candia to Gortyn. Some years ago prehistoric clay idols, similar to those from Gourniá and those mentioned below from Koumása, were found here. Now archaic Greek remains have been discovered, notably the ruins of a temple. Its importance is attested by the sculptures that adorned it. Part of the *sima*, nearly three feet high, has been found, decorated in low relief with a procession of riders armed with round shields and lances. This recalls the terracotta *sima* of the temple at Palaikastro with its reliefs of chariots and warriors, who are similarly armed.[5] In both cases also traces of colour have been found. Besides these, there are numerous fragments of statues in soft stone. One of the best is part of a

[5] *B.S.A.* xi, Pl. XV.

statue of a female divinity seated on a high-backed throne, decorated with figures in low relief. To a larger, but similar figure, half life-size, belong part of a very fine head, waving hair, and part of the breast. Associated with the fragments of the *sima* were remains of some very fine *pithoi*, adorned with various figures in relief. Notable amongst these is the standing full-face figure of a winged goddess, between a pair of horses. The scarcity of Greek remains in Crete makes these discoveries all the more interesting. It is in the works of this period that the influence of Dipoenus and Skyllis is to be looked for, and it is greatly to be hoped that the work at Priniá will yield still more in the future.

The most important work on a new site has been that of Mr. Seager, who has continued the excavation he began in 1906 on the small island of Pseíra, which lies about two miles off the north coast of Crete in the gulf of Mirabello, off the modern village of Kavoúsi. That so small an island, only a mile and a half long by one wide, and now quite uninhabited, should have been the site of a prehistoric town, is eloquent for the populous condition of Minoan Crete. The town, whose existence was proved in the beginning of the campaign of 1906, lies mainly on the south-east side of the island, where a long rocky point forms a good harbour for small boats. From the old landing-place in this harbour a long flight of stone steps leads to the summit of the point, and there divides into four roads intersecting the top of the hill. Owing to the abundance of stone at hand, no brick seems to have been used in the upper parts of the walls, as was the case at Palaikastro, and the houses were built throughout of roughly hewn stones. The result of this solid construction is that some of the walls still stand to the height of nine feet, clearly shewing the thresholds and floor-levels of the upper story. On the other hand, the quantity of fallen stones has made the work very laborious, and broken the very fine pottery rather badly. Potsherds, found in crevices of the rock, prove that the founding of the town goes back to the Early Minoan period, and in fact, underlying the existing houses, were well preserved Middle Minoan I house-walls. Directly below the floors of the houses are deposits dating to Middle Minoan III, and the objects found in the houses themselves are Late Minoan I and II. Between these two styles no dividing line in the stratification of the site can be discovered and Mr. Seager is inclined to think that the Late Minoan II (Palace Style) objects may be importations. Of anything later than Late Minoan II not a trace has been found, and it would seem that the island town, which could only have been inhabited when the Cretans had command of the sea, was deserted after the catastrophe which involved the destruction of the Palace of Knosos. On the other hand the town of Gourniá on the mainland of Crete near by lasted on until the close of the Bronze Age.

Many of the finds are very important. Besides other fragments, a painted *gesso duro* relief of a lady in a very richly embroidered dress was found. Of this work, which must have been about a yard high, the bust and part of the skirt are well preserved. The best known example of such painted reliefs in hard plaster is the figure wearing a lily crown from Knosos. That such works should be found here shews that Mr. Seager is right in

supposing that it was a richer settlement than Gourniá. No palace has been found, but one very fine house is built on three terraces rising from the sea to the top of the hill. Of Late Minoan I pottery, large jars painted in white are reported, one very fine example having three large bull's-heads on the shoulder, with double axes between their horns, and rows of double axes round the rim and foot, with bands of spirals filled with flowers. To the two painted clay bulls that were found last year, a third example has now been added, and parts of six in all have now been found. The rest of the pottery requires mending before any more can be said of it. The richest finds were perhaps the stone vases, of which some sixty have been found, comprising lamps and bowls of different patterns. Another season is required to finish the excavation, and in the meanwhile trials are being made on the neighbouring island of Móklos.

A later notice sent me by Mr. Seager reports the discovery of an early cemetery on Pseíra. About thirty-three tombs have been opened, and more remain. They all date to Early Minoan II and III and Middle Minoan I, and are of two types: rock-shelter burials, common in east Crete, where the body is laid under an overhanging ledge of rock, and cist-graves. The cist is formed of stone slabs for the bottom and walls, and the resulting box covered with large flat stones. About 100 vases of terracotta, and 90 of stone are reported. The latter are especially fine, and interesting both for their shapes and their materials, being made of breccia of all sorts, alabaster, rock crystal, and finely coloured stones. The presence of cist-graves is a point of great interest, as this is the type of grave that characterizes the contemporary 'Amorgine' cemeteries of the Cyclades. It has been recognized for some time that at the end of the Early Minoan period there was a strong wave of Cycladic influence in Crete, but this is the first time that actual graves of the Cycladic type have been found. The Early Minoan burials found elsewhere have been *tholoi* as at Phaistos and Koumása, complexes of walled compartments, like rooms in a house, as at Palaikastro and Gourniá, or burials in rock-shelters.

In July of 1906 Dr. Xanthoudhídhis continued his work at the prehistoric site of Koumása in the central plain of Crete, ten kilometres south of Gortyn. At this site he has previously excavated three circular ossuaries, which contained bones and numerous Early Minoan III remains, notably ivory seals with geometric designs, triangular daggers, and objects that suggest a strong Cycladic influence. Outside these tombs he has now found a kind of courtyard, in which was a great mass of charcoal and half-burned bones. These he takes to be human, and draws the conclusion that before burial the bodies were partially cremated outside the tomb proper. This observation is of the first importance, for it has always been supposed hitherto that cremation was altogether unknown in the Bronze Age in Greece. Associated with these remains were found Cycladic and Kamáres (Early Minoan III and Middle Minoan) pottery, and stone and ivory seals.

At the same time an examination was made of the settlement on the north and west slopes of the hill above the tombs, which proved to be of the

same period. The houses, built of undressed stones, were much destroyed, but one at least shewed traces of a second story. On the top of the hill was the shrine, and this at all events continued in use until the Late Minoan III period, since it contained terracotta idols like those found at Gourniá and Priniá.

The shrine itself consisted of several small compartments, the most important of which was paved, and had a central column supporting the roof. In this were found two aniconic idols of clay, a cone and a cylinder, and by them a steatite table of offerings, with a hemispherical hollow above, exactly like the one found in the Middle Minoan shrine in the palace of Phaistos, together with a sacred *baitylos*. The association of these sacral objects with a pillared room is yet one more piece of evidence for the religious character of these central pillars, found in so many Aegean buildings. There are excellent examples at Phylakopi and Knosos.[6]

In another compartment were the terracotta idols mentioned above.

At Haghia Eirene, half an hour east of Koumása, are traces of another contemporary settlement, and close to it Dr. Xanthoudhídhis has excavated two more tombs like those of Koumása, but robbed and re-used in Mycenean (Late Minoan III) times. A large ossuary was examined at Porti, four to five kilometres north-west of Koumása. The internal diameter of the *tholos* is 23 feet (7 metres), and the layer of bones three feet thick may represent as many as a thousand bodies. Here again were the same signs of cremation. The objects resemble those from Koumása. Traces of other tombs were found and of the settlement belonging to them. Work is being continued at this most important site in the July of this year.[7]

With all these fruitful excavations going on, the Candia Museum grows steadily richer. A new Museum is being built on the eastern part of the Venetian fortification of the town, near the Treis Kamáres Square.

The French School is continuing its great task of the excavation of Delos, and much progress has been made in clearing the town and public buildings. The most interesting discovery is that of Mycenean remains, carrying the history of Delos back into prehistoric times. These consist of an ossuary by the Colonnade of Antigonus, near the Apollo Temple. It is built without mortar, and surrounded by a wall of Hellenistic date. Adjacent to the wall is an oblong platform. In the ossuary were Mycenean vases, including pseudamphorae, and some two-handled spouted jars of a type well-known in Crete, that goes back very much earlier. It is most probable that this difference is accounted for by the re-use of the ossuary. Another similar enclosure has been found inscribed ἄβατον, which leaves little doubt that this was also an *abaton*, a sacred enclosure over the tomb of a hero of the prehistoric age. It is yet another case of that continuity of a sacred site from Mycenean times onwards, which occurs in so many other places, and is of so much importance for the history of Greek religion.

[6] For this subject, see Evans, *Tree and Pillar Worship*.

[7] These notes are largely indebted to Παναθηναία, Oct 15th, 1906.

A most interesting paper was read at the French School this spring, the object of which was to identify an archaic marble lion, now in front of the Arsenal at Venice, with one of the series of such figures now at Delos. The very convincing argument rested on the similarity of the statues, and the fact that, when Tournefort visited the island, he saw a lion which certainly is no longer at Delos. To this we have to add the natural fondness of Venetians for statues of lions, as being the badge of their patron St. Mark.

The work of the American School at the site of ancient Corinth was broken off for a year, owing to the untimely death at Athens of the late director, Dr. Heermance. It has now been resumed under the new director, Mr. B. H. Hill, who has kindly sent some notes of the work this spring.

As before, the depth of soil to be removed has been very great, and the fact that the Roman level is very close above the Greek has been against the discovery of many remains of the earlier period. Among the finds are inscriptions, a considerable part of an ornate circular building, dedicated by Babbius Philinus, and four headless, though otherwise complete, statues of good Roman workmanship. The Odeum has been located, halfway between the Theatre and the Fountain of Glauke, exactly in the position given by Pausanias. It has a diameter of about 98 yards (80 metres), and is partly cut in the solid rock and partly built of *opus incertum*.

The greater part of the work has been devoted to clearing the Roman shops north of the western part of the Agora, and what was still covered of the long Greek stoa north of these shops. It was here that the depth was very great, and some half a dozen systems of walls, modern, medieval, and Byzantine, had to be removed before the Roman level was reached. In the face of these difficulties the excavators deserve great credit for their perseverance, and their efforts have now removed all doubt as to the identification of the old temple as that of Apollo, and of the sites of the Fountain of Glauke and the Agora. Mr. Skias, however, who has also dug at Corinth, on behalf of the Greek Archaeological Society, would put the Agora much further east than the American excavators think possible.

Prehistoric objects also are not lacking. Near the south edge of the hill, on which the temple of Apollo stands, fragments of prehistoric pottery have been found, together with stone age implements of obsidian and flint, and the torso of a primitive nude female statuette of marble about six inches high. The obsidian was found close to the native rock, and the statuette about a foot higher up. It will be of great interest to know whether this find belongs to the neolithic series of Thessaly and Boeotia or not.

The old temple has been strengthened by the Greek Archaeological Society, and its appearance improved by the removal of an unfinished school built by Kapodistrias, and by the complete clearing of the foundations.

Besides the great work at Pergamon the German Institute has made several smaller but extremely interesting excavations, at Tiryns, Olympia, and Pylos, besides Dr. Doerpfeld's work at Leukas.[8]

[8] These notes are taken from reports published in *Ath. Mitth.* xxxii, pp. i-xvi

At Tiryns the lower strata of the Palace were examined, with the same excellent results that always attend the dissection of a prehistoric site, the lower citadel was trenched, and search was made for tombs.

By making trial-pits through the floors of the palace, remains were found of an older fortress and palace. Already in 1905 an earlier gate was discovered below the great Propylaeum,[9] and this has now been cleared. The walls, preserved to a height of as much as nine feet, are built of large stones. It was also found that the walls of the fortress are of different dates. In particular, the eastern part of the wall, the galleries, and the great tower in the south wall are proved to be later constructions dating from the period of the second palace.

The great antiquity of the site is shewn by the discovery, below the floor of the earlier palace, of graves, and again below these of two strata of remains of walls. Similar results were obtained in the middle fortress. The conclusion of this examination of the lower strata at Tiryns ought to go a long way in shewing us the condition of the mainland of Greece in pre-mycenean times.

The post-mycenean history of Tiryns has also been illustrated by the discovery of a thick layer of terracotta figures outside the south-east corner of the upper citadel. These come apparently from a sanctuary of Hera, and represent a seated goddess and her worshippers bringing gifts. Similar figures were found in the Megaron of the upper citadel, and it is probable that they all come from the Temple of Hera, that occupied the site after the destruction of the Mycenean palace.

A number of graves of the 'Geometric' period, generally small built square structures, have been found between the citadel and the railway station. The excavation is to be continued next year.

At Olympia the work at the Temple of Hera and the Pelopion begun in 1906 has been continued.[10] More trial-pits were sunk below the opisthodomos and cella of the temple. Again sherds were found of the peculiar kind that Dr. Doerpfeld has found at Leukas, and now also at Pylos in the excavation mentioned below, and regards as the earliest Achaean pottery. Holding that the culture of Mycenae is that of Aegeanized Achaeans, of an invading race with northern affinities, who had adopted the arts of the Aegean civilization, he considers that these finds prove that the earliest sanctuaries at Olympia are prehistoric, and not post-mycenean. Apart from the question of the Achaean origin of the pottery in question, this is very probable, but few will follow him in his revolutionary view that the 'Geometric' finds at Olympia are pre- and not post-mycenean. When these views were first formulated, after his earlier excavation at Olympia, they were vigorously criticized by Furtwaengler. That some of his finds at Leukas, and possibly at Olympia also, are altogether out of the Aegean context, and are more related to the culture of central Europe, and even that some of them are earlier than Mycenean, is very probable, but that the 'Geometric'

[9] Marked I in Pl. II of Schliemann's *Tiryns*. [10] *Ath. Mitth.* 1906, p. 205.

bronzes of Olympia are pre-mycenean is a view that it is impossible to maintain. Similar bronzes have been found this year at the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, mixed with Geometric pottery, which immediately underlies and gradually gives place to, not Mycenean, but Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery.

The excavation by which Dr. Doerpfeld claims to have found the site of the Homeric Pylos, is near Zacháro, a little way north of Samikón. Three Mycenean beehive-tombs have been discovered, and these, together with the remains of a contemporary building, Dr. Doerpfeld, following the Ὁμηρικώτεροι of Strabo,[11] considers to mark the site of the Homeric Pylos. The biggest of the tombs is thirteen yards (twelve metres) in diameter, with a *dromos* about eight yards long cut in the rock. The crown of the vault of the *tholos*, destroyed in antiquity, was perhaps as much as nearly forty feet (twelve metres) high. After the burial the door of the tomb was closed with a wall of small stones. In the floor of the *tholos* was a grave, covered with a slab, but almost completely rifled. Better results however were obtained from the *tholos* itself and the entrance, where many objects in amber, gold, bronze, and ivory were found, besides bones and potsherds. The presence of Roman graves above the *débris* shewed that the tomb was despoiled in ancient times, and that these objects were only the remnants of its original furniture. No pseudamphorae were found, and there were fragments of large three-handled jars that recall the Cretan Palace Style. The period seems to be that of the shaft-graves of Mycenae. It is of the greatest importance that, whilst some of the bones shewed as usual no traces of fire, a number are reported as being burnt.

On a hillock near by are walls, in which Doerpfeld recognizes an Achaean building contemporary with the tomb. He gives it this name on the strength of finding certain monochrome sherds like those of Leukas and Olympia.

This practice of cremation points to the place being actually a very early settlement of northerners, kinsmen to the later Achaeans of Homer, who had assimilated the Aegean culture, but retained their own ancestral method of disposing of the dead and partially their own style of pottery. The early date however makes it clearly pre-homeric, a tomb possibly of the ancestors of Nestor.

The excavations in Leukas, the Homeric Ithaka of Doerpfeld, have been continued. In the summer of 1906 he dug in several places on the island, notably the Nídri plain, where he locates the town of Odysseus, and in a cave called Choirospiliá. In both these places prehistoric sherds with geometric patterns, either incised or painted, were found. This is again his 'earliest Achaean' pottery, found in all Achaean places, Leukas, Olympia, and Pylos. He dissociates it altogether from the Mycenean, and regards it as allied to the pottery of Halstatt and Villanova. It is difficult

[11] Ὁμηρικώτεροι τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες τοῦτον εἶναί φασι τὸν τοῦ Νέστορος Πύλον, οὗ τὴν χώραν διεξεισιν ὁ Ἀλφειός. Strabo, S. iii 7.

at present to know how much stress is to be laid on this 'Achaean' pottery. At Olympia he regards it as pre-mycenean, and makes it carry back with it the geometric bronzes; at the Pylos settlement it is found with Mycenean objects. He would perhaps regard it rather as national than as all of one period. This is probably correct, only there seems no sound reason for calling it Achaean.

To whatever criticism however Doerpfeld's views on Mycenean and 'geometric' chronology may be open, he has made it clear that one of the most pressing problems of prehistoric Greek Archaeology is to clear up the relations of these fabrics of north and west Greece, taking into account on the one hand the neolithic pottery of Thessaly and the fabrics of central Europe, and on the other determining their chronological position in the sequence of the Aegean styles.

An important paper was read at the German Institute on the discoveries which Dr. Prantl has made in working on the Parthenon sculptures. By a careful study of the fragments he has made several new identifications. For the east pediment the most important are the heel of Hephaistos, a piece of the robe of Zeus, and two fragments of the wings of the Nike. In the west pediment he has identified the neck and part of the head of Athena, a part of the body of Cecrops, and a great part of the figure of Erichthonios.

Much progress has been made in excavating the great sites in Asia Minor. The Ottoman Museum at Alabanda, the Austrians at Ephesus, the Germans at Miletus and Pergamon, and the Danes in Rhodes are all engaged on the work. Although the remains are generally of the Hellenistic period, earlier and even archaic things are not lacking, and add greatly to the interest of the results.

The chief work of the German excavation at Pergamon in the summer of 1906 was to clear the great gymnasium. This lies halfway up the hill, and is on the highest of three terraces, on the lowest of which is the gymnasium of the boys, and on the second that of the ephebes.

The results are extremely imposing. The gymnasium consists of a large court, measuring 78 by 39 yards (70 by 35 metres). On the north side the bases are all *in situ*, and it is proposed this year to replace as many of the drums as possible. Along this side three fine halls have been cleared, the westernmost of which had a Roman orchestra and auditorium built over it.

Some houses in the town have been excavated, of which the 'House of Attalos' contained interesting mural paintings. It is intended ultimately to clear all the lower town.

Not the least interesting part of the programme for the future is the excavation of some tumuli, the largest of which, Jigma Tepe, is perhaps undisturbed, and may contain Attalid tombs. A small tumulus that has been dug contained a burial of the second century B.C. With the skeleton were two swords and a gold crown formed of ivy leaves and decorated with a figure of Nike.

The latest results from the Austrian excavations at Ephesus in 1905 and 1906 are to appear in the next number of the *Jahreshefte*, of which Dr. Heberdey has kindly let me see the manuscript, for the purposes of this paper.

More pieces of slabs sculptured in low relief, and resembling a piece previously discovered near the Library, have now been found. These slabs had been moved from their original position to be re-used, and are fragmentary, but it is clear that they once decorated an important building of the Aurelian period. The nature and exact position of this monument remain uncertain.

Between the Theatre and the Gate of Mithradates a large marble hall in the Doric style with two naves has been excavated. The workmanship points to the late Hellenistic period. The intercolumniations of the front pillars were walled up later, possibly when an inscription running: Dianae Ephesiae, Divo Clau[dio Imp. Neroni Caesari Augusto Germa]nico, Agri[ppi]-nae Aug[ustae, civita]ti Ephesiorum, was cut on the architrave of the southern wall. An earthquake in the reign of Tiberius may have necessitated the restoration. The very late inscriptions on the walls prove that it remained standing for many centuries. The longest of these is from the third year of the Byzantine emperor Tiberius (A.D. 581). The bulk of it is in Greek, but the last few lines, which give the date, are in Latin, cut by a mason who evidently did not understand the language. A still later inscription from the time of the emperor Heraclius and his son runs: + Ἡρακλ(ήου) καὶ Ἡρακλήου τῶν θεοφυλάκτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν, with the addition in later lettering, καὶ τῶν πρασίνων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη +

South of this hall a circular building dating from the Greek period has been found, and a late Roman rectangular hall, which may be the αὐδειτώριον, mentioned in an inscription published in the *Jahreshefte* vii. *Beiblatt*, p. 52.

No work was done at the Church of the Virgin in 1906, but the as yet unpublished results of 1905 are of some interest.[12] It occupied a space about 470 by 105 feet, and consisted of three parts. In the west was a large rectangular court communicating by doors on the east with a church with narthex and atrium. This had a nave and two narrow side aisles, and an apse at the east end, and was roofed with a dome and barrel vaults. East of this again was a second church with aisles, and to the south of this a baptistery.

Dr. Wiegand has kindly sent me the following notes on the work at Miletus and Didyma in the season of 1906. At Miletus the Baths of the Empress Faustina and the Lion Harbour have been fully excavated, and between the Delphinion and the Nymphaion a fine Hellenistic building with Propylon, inner court, and halls has been found, that seems to have been the Prytaneion. Belonging to a later date is an old Byzantine Basilica nearly 90 yards (80 metres) long. It possesses an atrium, martyrium, and baptistery, and an interesting circular plan and a mosaic floor. In the necropolis numerous

[12] For an earlier report see *Jahreshefte*, viii, *Beiblatt*, p. 77.

Hellenistic graves have been found. The work was much hindered by the unusually heavy winter floods of the Maeander, and is to be continued this autumn, with the special object of finding archaic remains.

Much has also been done to clear the temple of Apollo at Didyma, and the re-erection of fallen blocks has greatly improved its appearance. The systematic clearing of the Sacred Way has begun, and remains of several archaic marble statues have been found.[13]

The work of the Danish Archaeologists at Lindos in Rhodes conducted by Dr. Kinch was finished in the summer of 1906. The main results have been to clear the temple of Athena with its accompanying propylaea, portico, and exedra. The temple, which replaced an earlier building, dates from the fourth century. In this last campaign three important deposits were found on the Acropolis of various statuettes, dating respectively from the seventh or sixth, the end of the fifth, and the fourth century. A large number of bases with artists' signatures were also found. There are as many as 114 examples and 64 different names. A fine relief of a ship cut in the rock was found near the entrance to the Acropolis, and in the neighbourhood a rock-cut tomb with a two-storied façade. The upper of these is adorned with four altars, and from its resemblance to a stage building Dr. Kinch regards it of importance for the structure of the ancient theatre.

Lindos being now finished, Dr. Kinch is turning his attention to the remains of a city that he has discovered at the south end of the island, where almost all the visible remains, fragments of vases and statuettes, belong to one and the same age, the epoch of the so-called 'Rhodian' (Milesian) vases. This town is now to be excavated, and the early date gives promise of extremely interesting results.

In a letter dated August of this year Dr. Kinch has very kindly communicated the discovery of the necropolis of the town. The graves he assigns to 800–600 B.C. No further details are yet to hand, but good results may be confidently expected.

It remains for me to thank the archaeologists in charge of the various excavations, who have so generously furnished the notes of their latest results, from which this summary has been drawn up.

R. M. DAWKINS.

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[13] For notices of previous works, see *Arch. Anz.* 1906.

MONEMVASIA.

Additional Notes.

SINCE the article on this subject (pp. 229 ff. above) was passed for press I have obtained some additional information in Venice which it seems desirable to put on record.

Of the two coats of arms illustrated on p. 240, that on the left belongs to Sebastiano Renier. The other is of Antonio Garzoni, who was elected *podestà* of Monemvasia in 1526, and again in 1538, when he was the last *podestà* before the Turkish conquest. The identification of this latter coat I owe to the assistance of Mr. H. F. Brown.

Hopf's statement, reproduced by me on p. 235, that Monemvasia was Venetian in 1419, is, I find, not justified by the evidence. I have had some difficulty in tracing the documents cited by Hopf, as the pagination of the Vienna copy of the *Misti* used by him differs from that in the copy at Venice. The three documents merely shew that Venetian wine-merchants were engaged in the wine-trade at Monemvasia. They are as follows (I have altered the Venetian dates to Modern Style):

9 *Jan.* 1420.

Capta.

Attenta humili et devota supplicatione fidelium civium nostrorum mercatorum Monavaxie et Romanie et considerato quod mercantia huiusmodi vinorum hoc anno parvum vel nichil valuit, ob quod ipsi mercatores multa et maxima damna sustinuerunt, ob quibus (*sic*) nullo modo possunt ad terminum quatuor mensium sibi limitatum solvere eorum datia prout nobis supplicaverunt; Vadit pars quod ultra terminum quatuor mensium sibi concessum per terram ad solvendum datia sua pro suis monavasiis et romaniis, concedatur eisdem et prorogetur dictus terminus usque ad duos menses ultra predictos menses quatuor sibi statuitos per terram ut supra dando plezariam ita bonam et sufficientem pro ista prorogatione termini, quod comune nostrum sit securum de datio suo, solvendo ad terminum debitum.

De parte omnes.

(Archivio di Stato Venezia—Deliberazioni Senato Misti Reg. 53. c. 21.)

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19 *Feb.* 1421.

Capta.

Quod audita devota supplicatione fidelium civium nostrorum mercatorum Romanie et Monovasie Venetiis existentium, et intellectis damnis que receperunt iam annis tribus de ipsis vinis et maxime hoc anno quia per piratas accepte sibi fuerunt plures vegetes huiusmodi vinorum, et considerato quod illa que habent non possunt expedire, propter que

damna non possunt solvere sua datia ad terminum sibi limitatum per ordines nostros. Et audita superinde responsione offitialium nostrorum datii vini ex nunc captum sit quod ultra dictum terminum sibi limitatum per ordines nostros elongetur terminus solvendi dicta datia ipsorum vinorum usque duos alios menses.

De parte omnes.

De non —— 0.

Non sinceri 0.

(Archivio di Stato Venezia—Deliberazioni Senato Misti Reg. 53. c. 112.)

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9 *Feb.* 1428.

In Consilio Rogatorum.

Capta.

Quod mercatoribus Monovaxie et Romanie, qui non potuerunt expedire vina sua propter novitates presentes elongetur terminus solvendi datia sua per unum mensem ultra terminum limitatum per ordines nostros.

De parte omnes alii.

De non —— 2.

Non sinceri 1.

(Archivio di Stato Venezia—Deliberazioni Senato Misti Reg. 56 carte. 76t°.

Finally I note that the exact title of Mr. Papamichalópoulos' monograph is: *Πολιορκία καὶ ἅλωσις τῆς Μονεμβασίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῷ* 1821. *Ἱστορικὴ πραγματεία ὑπὸ Κωνστ.* Ν. *Παπαμιχαλοπούλου, Τελειοφοίτου τῆς νομικῆς. Ἀθήνησι* 1874.

W. Miller.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Essays and Addresses. By SIR RICHARD JEBB, O.M. Pp. vii+648. Cambridge: University Press, 1907. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Our late President's occasional papers were invariably so carefully prepared that the decision to publish a selection of them was amply justified. The present volume contains the admirable study of Pindar and the monograph on Delos which appeared in the early parts of this *Journal.* It also contains papers on 'The Genius of Sophocles,' 'The Age of Pericles,' 'Ancient Organs of Public Opinion' (an address to Harvard-students), 'Lucian,' 'The Speeches of Thucydides,' and 'Suidas on Sophocles and the Trilogy,' which deal directly with Greek literature; a review of Froude's *Caesar*, the Rede Lecture on Erasmus, the Romanes Lecture on Humanism in Education, and a Newnham lecture on Samuel Johnson, which enter upon different fields of literary culture; and five addresses dealing, from various points of view, with the question of the position of University studies in general, and classical studies in particular, with regard to modern life. The last of these is the address to the British Association in South Africa on 'University Education and National Life,' which was practically the author's last public utterance. The volume as a whole is full of weighty substance, expressed with characteristic care and scholarly moderation, and may be cordially recommended to the friends of classical studies.

Berliner Klassikertexte. Heft V., Griechische Dichterfragmente: Erste Hälfte epische und elegische Fragmente; Zweite Hälfte, lyrische und dramatische Fragmente. Bearbeitet von W. SCHUBART und U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Pp. viii+136, with 2 facsimiles, and ii+160 with 6 facsimiles. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907. 8 m. and 10 m.

The two parts which make up the fifth volume of the Berlin *Klassikertexte* are a general gathering of the minor verse fragments, on papyrus and vellum, in the Berlin Museum, including several which have been previously published in periodicals. The first part includes a list of Homeric papyri, a paraphrase of an Orphic poem on the rape of Persephone, which is closely connected with the Homeric hymn to Demeter; four fragments of the Hesiodic *Catalogue* and a scrap of the *Works and Days*; portions of Aratus 642–802, 855–883, 922–934; Theocritus xi. 20–24, and xiv. 59–63, and a scrap of scholia; 30 lines of Euphorion (the chief novelty of the part); 84 imperfect lines of a late epic on the fortunes of the family and estate of Diomede during his absence before Troy; portions of 5 or 6 epigrams from a tiny roll, only two inches high; two other epigrams: Oppian, *Halieut.* v. 104–157; two fourth-century elegies on professors at Berytus; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xiv. 386–xvi. 30 (with lacunas); and three Byzantine panegyrics, of the kind best known to us from Claudian. The second part is more interesting, and contains, as its special novelty, considerable fragments of Corinna, in strongly marked dialect; 20 lines of one ode and 40 of another are in a good state of preservation. In addition there are the Alcaeus and Sappho fragments which are already known; some well-written drinking songs, not much (if at all) later than 300 B.C.;

24 lines of the Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος of Sophocles; 52 lines of Euripides' *Cretans*, including a vigorous rhetorical defence of herself by Pasiphaë; 35 choice lines from the Phaethon, mutilated, but fortunately coinciding with the lines already preserved in the Codex Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles; 50 lines of the *Melanippe*; *Hippol.* 243–430, 493–515, 616–624; *Medea* 513–560; *Troades* 876–879; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 598–600, 631–633, 747–977 (with lacunas); *Frogs*, 234–262, 273–300, 404–410, 607–611; a few letters of *Birds*, 819–829, 860–864; *Clouds*, 177–180, 207–209, 233–235, 268–270, 936–972, and in another MS. 955–988, 1007–1014; 30 imperfect lines from one play of the New Comedy and 101 from another; fragments of a Florilegium (including Eur. *Hipp.* 403–423); some 120 anapaestic monometers of the first century, of doubtful purport; and a few unimportant scraps. The two parts contain a few interesting and important pieces (the Sappho, Corinna, *Cretans*, and Euphorion), and the publication of the rest at least frees the consciences of the curators of the Berlin Museum.

Étude sur Didymos, d'après un papyrus de Berlin. By P. Foucart. Paris (extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, tome xxxviii, 1907). Pp. 193. 7 f. 50 c.

This is an important study of the commentary of Didymus on the Philippics, originally published in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, vol. i. The conclusions of Foucart with regard to the character of Didymus and his compilations deserve to be studied in connexion with those of Diels; and the second part, which contains separate studies of all the copious quotations from other authors (especially Philochorus), supplies most usefully a deficiency in the original publication.

Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern. By W. Schubart. Pp. 159; 14 illustrations in text. Berlin: Handbücher der kgl. Museen, 1907. 3 m.

A very useful summary of present knowledge on the subject of *Buchwesen* in antiquity, written in a clear and popular style, without foot-notes or references. The information is very complete so far as it goes, and the author (who is curator of the Greek papyri in the Berlin Museum) has made good use of his opportunities of being acquainted with the results of modern discoveries. The four chapters deal with 'Writing Materials,' 'the Roll,' 'the Codex,' and 'Copying and the Book-trade.'

Greek Papyri in the British Museum: Catalogue, with texts, vol. III. Edited by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell. Pp. lxxiv+388. £2 10*s*. Atlas of facsimiles to the above (100 plates). London, 1907. £3 3*s*.

The third volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Papyri is on the same lines as its predecessors. It contains a numerical catalogue of 846 papyri, and texts (with brief introductions and notes) of 248 (all non-literary documents). These are divided into chronological groups as Ptolemaic, Roman, Early Byzantine, and Late Byzantine, with subdivisions in each group, except the first, according to subject. The texts are of the usual kind. They include some well-preserved Ptolemaic contracts from Pathyris, some long land-registers of the first century, the accounts of the waterworks-commissioners of some town (probably Arsinoë or Hermopolis), a brief narrative of a voyage up the Nile, and a diploma of membership in an athletic club, granted to a boxer at the great games at Naples in A.D. 192. The indices are on the usual full scale. The atlas of facsimiles provides a series of 100 plates, most of them precisely dated, and ranging from 192 B.C. to 711 A.D.

The Tebtunis Papyri. Part II. Edited by B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT, with the assistance of E. J. GOODSPEED. (University of California publications, Graeco-Roman archaeology, vol. II.) Pp. xv+485, with a map and 2 plates. London and New York, 1907. £2 5*s*. net.

The second volume of the Tebtunis papyri (discovered and edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt on behalf of the University of California) has appeared, through the munificence of Mrs. Hearst, without being delayed by the disaster which befell the University in the recent earthquake. Its interest is mainly for the regular student of papyri. It contains only four literary texts (apart from small fragments). Two of these are from Homer (*Il.* ii and xi), and one from Demosthenes (*De Fals. Leg.*); the fourth, and most interesting, is a portion of the lost Greek original of Dictys Cretensis. This, being in a hand of the early third century, proves that the work must have been composed not later than the second century, and possibly earlier. The documentary texts are of the usual miscellaneous kind, excellently edited, and provided with full indices. There is a long appendix on the topography of the Arsinoite nome, with a map.

Die Griechische Skulptur. Von R. KEKULÉ VON STRADONITZ. [Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin.] Pp. iv+383; 155 illustrations. Berlin: Reimer, 1906.

This work is a manual of Greek sculpture, described in historical sequence, and is primarily intended for the use of visitors to the Berlin collections of original sculptures and of casts. For the purposes of the book, Greek sculpture begins with the primitive examples from the Athenian Acropolis, and closes with examples of Roman imperial architecture, and sarcophagi. In accordance with the scheme and object of the writer, the chief stress is laid on those sections which can be illustrated by original works at Berlin, and the literary side of the history of sculpture is only introduced as far as is necessary. The work could, however, be used to a considerable extent, as a companion in any gallery of casts.

A Handbook of Greek Sculpture. By ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER. [Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities.] Pp. xxxiv+591. London (Macmillan) and New York (The Macmillan Co.), 1907. 10*s*.

In this reissue of the revised edition of Prof. Gardner's handbook (see *J.H.S.* xxvi. p. 183) it is satisfactory to be able to say that the illustrations, the condition of which previously left something to be desired, have been thoroughly overhauled, and are now worthy of the text. An outline reproduction of Prof. Furtwängler's reconstruction of the Aegina pediments serves as frontispiece.

Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine. By Mrs. ARTHUR STRONG, LL.D. Pp. xx+408. 130 plates. London: Duckworth and Co., 1907. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Mrs. Strong has made a courageous attempt to deal in a small compass with the great mass of Roman sculpture from Augustus to Constantine, and has performed a service to archaeologists and particularly to students and teachers of Roman history and civilisation. Her book contains by far the most complete enumeration of Roman monuments in the English tongue, and a great number of plates, on the whole admirably reproduced. In addition, Mrs. Strong's wide acquaintance with continental archaeological literature provides in the notes references to the most important treatises dealing with the particular

monuments. Of these the reliefs are in many ways the most important remains, and at the same time the least accessible. Mrs. Strong's careful description and full illustration of the three great historical documents in relief, the Ara Pacis Augusti, the Column of Trajan, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius, alone make her work indispensable to English students of Roman history. For the treatment of all three she mainly relies on Petersen's careful studies, and the description of the Ara Pacis is as complete as may be, until the innumerable fragments in the Museo delle Terme are pieced together and described. The Column of Trajan is illustrated by twelve plates and a running commentary on the whole, the Column of Marcus Aurelius by seven plates. In chronological relation to these, Mrs. Strong reproduces and discusses the remaining important reliefs, the panels of the arch of Titus, the arch of Trajan at Benevento, the Hadrianic and Aurelian reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and the whole complex of heterogeneous panels which decorate the arch erected by a grateful Rome to Constantine. Mrs. Strong has selected wisely both from the vast mass of monuments at her disposal and from the no less vast abundance of ideas thrown out by such writers as Wickhoff and Riegl. The reliefs of the arch of Titus, on which as a basis Wickhoff founded his theory of the independence and pre-eminence of Roman Art, receive, on the technical side, at least a due appreciation; and Riegl's bold advocacy of neglected virtues in the 4th century friezes on the Constantinian arch is briefly expounded. The last chapter, on Roman Portraiture from Augustus to Constantine, is the least satisfactory. The illustrations, which include three plates of Imperial coins, are good and reproduce less known and finer busts. The text, however, attempts to deal with the Imperial busts in general, a task too great for the space allowed.

Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires. Tome xiii. fasc. 4. Une Forteresse Ibérique à Osuna (Fouilles de 1903). Par MM. ARTHUR ENGEL et PIERRE PARIS. Pp. 131, with 40 Plates. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906.

This well-illustrated number of the Nouvelles Archives contains the results of the excavation of the older portion of the site of the antique Urso, the modern Osuna in Southern Spain. The existence of Roman remains there has long been known, but the stimulus to the French archaeologists was the hope of the discovery of the enigmatical pre-Roman Iberian work. A portion of a hastily built fortress, which can be dated by numerous sling glands inscribed with CN. MAG. IMP., was dismembered and contained sculptured fragments of earlier date. These fragments and the finds generally are carefully tabulated and reproduced. The work presents that known admixture of archaic forms and incompetent execution which inevitably suggests the local imitation of imported models and the character of the forms permits a comparison with prototypes of the most various dates and sources, early Greek and Phoenician, even Chaldaean and Mycenaean. Two tombs found on the site but earlier than the fortress contained remains which by comparison with articles found in Punic tombs at Carthage are inferred to be also Punic.

L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra. By A. FOUCHER. Vol. i. Pp. xii+626, 300 illustrations, 1 plate, and a map of the Gandhāra district. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1905.

This admirable work, when completed, will constitute much the most exhaustive account yet undertaken of the Buddhist art of the N.W. provinces of India, an art so interesting from the extraordinary flexibility shewn by the Graeco-Roman mould in adapting itself to absolutely alien modes of thought. This volume deals with the buildings and bas-reliefs, so far as the latter are accessible; vol. ii is to contain the statues, presumably including

Dr. Stein's new material for their study. The author takes the traditional life of Buddha, step by step, tracing each act or scene in the monuments,—a great advance on anything yet done; while the sections in which he disentangles the classical and native elements in the art of Gandhāra, and analyses the two waves of western influence that, at separate times, reached India, shew the skill and sobriety of a master. That old problem, the Mathurā sculptures, troubles no longer; these now fall into their place as imitations of Gandhāra art, as indeed Mr. Vincent Smith has also recently seen. The question of the *derivation* of the classical influences in the Gandhāra school is, however, so lightly treated as to suggest a fuller discussion to come, unless M. Foucher has nothing to add to the brilliant essay in which he put forward his theory of 'wandering artists' thirteen years ago. As to date, he follows Senart in placing the inferior limit for the main outburst of this art not later than the middle of the second century A.D., on the strength of the Amrāvatī inscriptions. But the superior limit fluctuates with Kanishka. He appears to favour the end of the first century A.D., and two or three years ago it seemed tolerably safe to connect the beginnings of the Gandhāra school with the great peace of Hadrian and the Antonines; but now, should Dr. Fleet be right in referring Kanishka's date to the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), one *may* have again to reckon with the possibility of a much earlier commencement. In any case, there is a remarkable resemblance between these long acts of the Buddha, unwinding themselves round the base of some stûpa, and Trajan's column. If one grumble at this splendid book be permissible, it is over its title. M. Foucher could, if he would, have killed off the term 'Graeco-Buddhist,' with its misleading associations. Now it is too late.

Ancient Khotan. By M. Aurel Stein. Vol. i. Pp. xxiv+621, and 72 illustrations. Vol. ii. 119 plates, and a map of Khotan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.

These magnificent volumes contain the detailed report of the archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan carried out by Dr. Stein in 1900–1 on behalf of the Indian Government, together with appendices by leading experts in various branches of Oriental research. The main outline of Dr. Stein's discoveries at the desert sites excavated by him is already familiar from his Preliminary Report (1901) and his personal narrative, 'Sand-buried ruins of Khotan' (1903); it is now possible to disengage the results of interest to the classical student. The outstanding fact is the influence, in the early centuries A.D., of India, and more especially of the 'Graeco-Buddhist' art of Gandhāra, on the art of Khotan, through which channel some classical forms, *e.g.* the arrangement of the drapery on the standing Buddha-figure, reached Japan; but Khotan throws no light on the origin of the Gandhāra school itself. The celebrated classical seals on wooden Kharoṣṭhī documents of the third century A.D., and the classical intaglios from Moji, are now definitely called Roman work of the third or possibly of the second century A.D. A restored enlargement by Mr. F. H. Andrews of one of the figures of Athene Promachos, with aegis and thunderbolt, adorns the title-page; but perhaps even more striking than the juxtaposition of Roman and Chinese seals on records from the same office is the resemblance of the Nāgiṇī of shrine D. ii at Dandān-Uiliq to the Venus de' Medici. Doubtless the seals came in by the great trade route to China, described by Marinus, as to which Dr. Stein now abandons his former adherence to the identification of Ptolemy's λίθινος πύργος with Tashkurgan. Iranian artistic influences, as well as speech, are seen extending to Khotan; of Greek influence proper, unless filtered through India, no trace appears. Whether any or what elements at Khotan came from Bactria we cannot say, as we do not know what Graeco-Bactrian civilisation was like. If only Dr. Stein could excavate Balkh!

Quelques Réformes de Solon. Essai de critique historique. Par CHARLES GILLIARD. Lausanne : G. Bridel & Cie, 1907. Pp. 324.

M. Gilliard deals principally with the economical and financial reforms. In the extant fragments of Solon's own poems this part of his work is very prominent, and these fragments are the most reliable evidence for the life and work of their author : the ancients did not understand their middle ages as we do ours. A considerable part of the book is then devoted to an account of the economic troubles in pre-Solonian Athens, with chapters on such subjects as the Rich, the Poor (πελάται, θῆτες, ἑκτημόροι, etc), Debt and Mortgage (with a discussion of the Solonian ὅροι). Solon's reforms are dealt with under such main headings as the Law against seizing the Debtor's Person, The Right of Bequest, the Seisachtheia, the Solonian Classes, Solon's Monetary Reforms. One chapter before the end discusses Solon's political reforms. The book contains a complete collection of Solon's poems, a bibliography, and an excellent table of contents.

Thucydides Mythistoricus. By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. xvi+252. London: Arnold, 1907. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Cornford's book is divided into two parts. The first ('Thucydides Historicus') deals with what he regards as the inadequate explanation given by the historian of the cause of the Peloponnesian War. It was, he holds, really brought on by the commercial party who dictated the policy of Pericles. The Megarian decrees were the first step in this policy, and were part and parcel of the design to secure Athenian trade with the West at the expense of Corinth. All this Thucydides more or less ignores, because he has no true conception of social and economic conditions, in which we better instructed moderns find the explanation of historical events. The second part ('Thucydides Mythicus') attempts to shew how the historian's mind was—as was inevitable in his age—dominated by conceptions such as Tyche, Elpis, Eros, etc., which are for him not mere abstractions, names given by men to the various forms in which natural law expresses itself, but living agencies. This attitude of mind leads the historian to arrange and mould the materials of history much as a dramatic poet of the time would deal with them. The mythical atmosphere causes the actual facts to be unconsciously omitted or, from the modern and more privileged point of view, distorted. Mr Cornford has written a most brilliant essay, but cannot be said to have penetrated below the surface of his subject His acquaintance with previous writers thereon, or with the archaeological questions that are occasionally involved, leaves a good deal to be desired. But that is a minor objection. He proceeds on the somewhat naïve assumption that wars are sufficiently explained by economic motives. Whereas no questions of trade will bring two states into conflict unless the psychological conditions are favourable ; and these conditions are adequately recognised by Thucydides. It is also difficult to believe that Thucydides was so dense, or so little in the confidence of the politicians of his time, as Mr. Cornford's theory presupposes. As regards the method of the book, Mr. Cornford forgets that, once it is assumed that the real meaning of an author's words is something very different from what he thinks he is saying, the critic's interpretation becomes purely subjective ; it becomes, too, interesting not because of the light which it seems to throw on his subject, but because of the attitude of mind which it reveals in the critic himself. From the purely literary point of view it may be justifiable to make an unoffending historian the object of a psychological *jeu d'esprit*, and to treat his perfectly reasonable versions of a most contemporary events—such as the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton—as episodes in a work of the imagination. But for the sake of the advance of historical criticism, the habit is to be deprecated. *Χαρίεντα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, λίαν δὲ δεινοῦ.*

The Second Athenian Confederacy. By F. H. MARSHALL [Cambridge Historical Essays, No. XIII]. Pp. x+136. Cambridge University Press, 1905.

We have delayed too long to notice Mr. Marshall's little book, which, unlike most Prize Essays, is a solid and permanent contribution to the study of its subject. So much has been discovered in the form of inscriptions since the publication of Busolt's monograph more than thirty years ago that, pending the completion of his history, one is grateful for a careful and lucid summary of the present state of our knowledge of this difficult transitional period. For the histories of Holm and Beloch are either too sketchy or too *tendenziös* to be thoroughly satisfactory. Mr. Marshall's first chapter gives a brief description of the events leading up to the foundation of the confederacy, of which the most important was the formation of an anti-Spartan league in 394–3 B.C. It is well known that the evidence for this league is chiefly numismatic; but a coin of Byzantium, which was unpublished when Mr. Marshall was writing, has introduced an element of difficulty into the chronology. This coin, which is uniform with those of the other members of the league, shews that Byzantium belonged to it; but whereas Ephesus, Samos, and Cnidus joined Sparta and, in Mr. Marshall's opinion, broke up the league in 391, it is improbable that Byzantium can have joined it before the expedition of Thrasybulus in 389. Chapter II deals with the general principles of the Confederacy, the remainder of the book describes its history, which is one of decline from the very beginning. The economic historian would attribute this melancholy fact to the imperfect financial organisation of the league; but that was only a symptom of the real causes. These lay first in the inability of Athens to regard herself as merely the chief member of the league, and not its mistress; and second in the rise, in Macedonia, of a power which was hampered neither by any scruples as to the subjection of other powers, nor by lack of men or money to carry its policy of conquest into effect. Mr. Marshall rightly regards the Confederacy as the forerunner of true federation in Greece, but it is equally significant as the last futile appearance of the city-state as an imperial power.

Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Collected and arranged by G. F. HILL. Second Issue. Pp. xii+439. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

In this re-issue an Appendix of seventeen pages of newly acquired material and corrigenda has been added and the list of archons revised. Otherwise the book is the same as it was when first published in 1897.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. Volume I. The Empire Builders: Volume II. Julius Caesar. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO; translated by ALFRED E. ZIMMERN. Pp. vi+328, vi+389. London: Heinemann, 1907. 17*s.* net.

These two volumes contain a history of the age of Caesar from the death of Sulla to the Ides of March, with five introductory chapters giving a broad outline of the four preceding centuries. Though complete in themselves, they do not conclude Professor Ferrero's task. His intention is to continue the narrative, in succeeding volumes, down to the break-up of the Empire, and references in the work now published suggest the early appearance of a further volume.

The detailed narrative traverses a much studied generation, presenting not a few of the familiar questions in an unfamiliar light. The characters are drawn with great skill and insight. The political adventurer Vatinius, Crassus the aspiring financier, Clodius the turbulent demagogue, and the varied crowd of politicians and generals that pass across the stage, all are portrayed with life-like vigour: in particular the picture of the old campaigning aristocrat Lucullus is intensely vivid. In estimating the political aims and powers both of Pompeius and of Cicero, the author has pursued the *via media*; Cicero especially is given his due, while the author's evident divergence from Mommsen has not led him into

undue eulogy. But of necessity the character which dominates the work is that of Julius Caesar, and here the devout follower of Mommsen will be disappointed or disillusioned. Caesar's early career, we find, was largely determined by the pressure of his debts. The Helvetian campaign was a cardinal mistake, barely redeemed by the expedition against Ariovistus. A brilliant general and a brilliant opportunist, Caesar appears in the end not as a statesman but as an arch-destroyer unable to restore the fabric which he had helped to shatter. Though this view of the true Julius Caesar is developed and elaborated with great ingenuity, it would be difficult to accept it without reserve.

While the book contains many fine pen-portraits, it is less a history of men than of movements. It is above all noteworthy for its correlation of social with political history. The condition of the capital, of Italy, and of the Empire, finds its proper place as a key to the shifting and almost bewildering schemes of parties ; and the prevalence of the slave traffic, the temporary influx of wealth, and the long-continuing question of debt are rightly emphasised. The treatment of the social questions never fails to be interesting, for the author writes in an exhilarating style which hurries the reader along. But, partly no doubt on account of the difficulty and obscurity of the subject, it appears sometimes to be repetitive and circumscribed. In the history of social-movements, the notes here and there confess to conjectures in the text, and in other cases the reader looks in vain for any substantial authority cited in support of the author's views. Professor Ferrero denies to his protagonists something of the sagacity and power in moulding events which other historians concede to them, and lays greater stress on the broad unconscious movements of the times. Probably in doing so he attains a truer perspective, but he essays a more difficult task. The result is a work which is always stimulating but not always convincing. Still, while suggesting that the final word on the age of Caesar remains unspoken, the work undoubtedly constitutes a valuable addition to existing knowledge of the period.

As is natural in so long a book, points of detail suggest themselves for criticism. For instance, the dating of the *Lex Aebutia circa* 100 B. C. will hardly find general acceptance.

Mr. Zimmern has carried out the translation with singular felicity.

Studies in Roman History. By E. G. Hardy, M. A., D. Litt. Pp. viii + 349. London : Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1906. 6*s*.

In this book Mr. Hardy republishes his ten Essays on 'Christianity and the Roman Government,' and adds six miscellaneous studies touching on aspects of imperial history. The essays on Christianity give a judicious and compendious account of the attitude of the Government to the new religion from its first appearance in the Empire to the time of the Antonines. A subject often viewed in the spirit of partisanship or prejudice is here treated in the sober light of scholarship, and Mr. Hardy's well-reasoned conclusions leave an impression of the remarkable forbearance of the Government towards a movement which it did not, and could not, understand,—a forbearance which contrasts strangely with the history of similar relations in other epochs.

One of the further studies which now first appear in the book deals with the little-known provincial assemblies, of which the primary object was the regulation of the worship of 'Rome and the reigning Emperor,' and which kept up in the provincial populations the sense of their connexion with, and dependence upon, the imperial city. Mr. Hardy's study is of exceptional value for the side lights which it throws on the dark questions of provincial organisation.

Other studies deal with the constitution of the army in the time of Augustus, the movements of the legions in the first two centuries, a Bodleian MS. of Pliny, and other detached questions. They are very technical and their interest very specialised ; while they add something of value to the mass of research, they rather spoil the uniformity of Mr. Hardy's book. The first ten studies form a consecutive narrative which will be generally read with interest and profit ; the remaining essays form a miscellany in which only the expert will find much interest.

The Stoic Creed. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON. Pp. vi + 274. Edinburgh: T. and T Clark, 1907. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The public whom Professor Davidson has in view is not any limited circle of specialists but the larger world of general culture which may be concerned to know the broad features of Stoicism and the bearings of Greek philosophy on modern life. If therefore one must pronounce that to the serious student of philosophy or classical antiquity the book is not of much use, this is not to deny that it will have its use in the sphere for which it was intended. It is perhaps to look at it from a somewhat narrow point of view, although that may be appropriate to a journal devoted to Hellenic studies. It would indeed be unreasonable to complain of its not being what it does not profess to be—a monograph intended to shed new light upon the darker parts of its subject, or a handbook which might guide beginners over the field. Since it is neither, there was no obligation to indicate the special literature on Stoicism. But it is not that important works which have appeared in the last twenty years are not mentioned (by Bonhöffer, Schmekel, Dyroff, Aal): the suspicion is forced upon one that Professor Davidson has not himself taken the trouble to become acquainted with them. His Zeller, of course, he knows, and he mentions Stein's 'Psychologie' (Vol. II, 1888)—the most unsafe guide, by the way, to whom any one taking up Stoicism could be referred. The careful and elaborate study of the Stoical philosophy, contained in Bonhöffer's two volumes on Epictetus (1890, 1894), put many points in a wholly new light. Professor Davidson repeats old suppositions as if they had never been questioned—the view for instance that all knowledge, according to Stoicism, had a sensuous origin. The idea again that the *goodness* of the Deity was not recognized by the Older Stoics (pp. 60, 90) is certainly wrong (cf. Chrysippus ap. Plut. *de Stoic. rep.* 1051e). The account of καθῆκον, with the statement 'that it is applicable only to things indifferent' (p. 154) is very unsatisfactory. Professor Davidson's terminology is sometimes curious. 'Affects,' for instance (p. 49), as a translation of πάθη, though familiar in German, is new to me in English, and does not seem to correspond with the technical meaning of the term given in Baldwin's 'Dictionary of Philosophy.' 'Artificial fire' (p. 88) will hardly do as a translation for πῦρ τεχνικόν; can Professor Davidson have been thinking of *feux d' artifice?* 'Homocentric' (p. 183) is not the same as 'anthropocentric': it does not mean 'having man for a centre,' the sense required, but 'having the same centre.' One may freely admit, in conclusion, that Professor Davidson's book contains many just reflections and that it gives a very readable survey of what was the current doctrine about Stoicism twenty years ago.

Aristotle's Theory of Conduct. By T. MARSHALL. Pp. xxi + 578. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906.

Mr. Marshall's idea is a good one. If he does not hope to make the Ethics 'a popular book,' in the sense of its finding a large number of readers, he has set out to present it in a readable shape which may bring it into touch with the ordinary person of intelligent interests. Like Professor Davidson's book therefore, Mr. Marshall's is not to be judged as a contribution to special research, but as an essay in the laudable work of popularization. The Ethics is a book which raises various problems for the student of Greek philosophy. It was composed in constant reference to the current popular ideas and the doctrines of contemporary schools. It has therefore some of the difficulties of a controversial work torn out of its context. This is especially so, since the arguments of Aristotle seem to be often *ad hominem*, and the question may be raised how far his premisses represent his own opinions, and how far they serve a merely dialectical purpose. It is questions of this kind which must engage the attention of those who make a scientific study of Greek philosophy. They take a prominent place in Professor Burnet's edition of the Ethics. Of that edition, strange to say, Mr. Marshall has apparently no knowledge. Professor Burnet's departures from the common view are not calculated in all cases to carry conviction, but one cannot

help thinking that if Mr. Marshall had given consideration to the fresh light in which Professor Burnet often places a well-known passage, many of his observations would have fallen out otherwise. Deficiencies of this kind are not however so serious in a work with the aims of Mr. Marshall's as in one intended for strictly academic use. Aristotle's ethical system, by the very lack of schematic precision, which in this field he held it an error to seek, was able to embody and represent the mass of feelings and judgments on ethical questions operative in the world of his contemporaries better than a doctrinaire theory. And it is because these general feelings differ less from one age to another than the constructions of philosophers that Aristotle's Ethics is still a book of fresh interest for the ordinary man to-day. Mr. Marshall's work has the essential qualities of a healthy sense of actuality and an agreeable style. His judgment is sane and well informed. It is impossible, of course, for anyone who expounds a philosophical theory to keep his own philosophical proclivities in abeyance. And where Mr. Marshall's run counter to those of some particular reader, Mr. Marshall will inevitably appear wrong and such reader will probably be inclined to read Aristotle in a somewhat different sense. This is not the place to note particular passages where Mr. Marshall's rendering appears to us questionable, but serious exception can surely be taken to his view that the ethical standard, in Aristotle's view, is derived merely from the general sense of the community in which the agent lives. If this were so, it would be impossible to arrange the communities themselves in an ethical scale. Mr. Marshall seems hardly to realize the unexpressed presuppositions upon which the Aristotelian ethical theory rests, presuppositions which perhaps justify Mr. Stewart in saying that 'in all creatures there is a θεῖόν τι which directs their efforts towards that which is naturally good.'

Ἡ Πατρὶς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως. Translated from the German by NICOLAS K. PAULATOS. Pp. 308. Athens, 1907.

The original of this translation is supplied by a treatise of the Archduke Ludwig Salvator on the Homeric Ithaca, and part of another by Dr. Gustav Lang, entitled *Untersuchungen zur Geographie der Odyssee.* Three sections of the latter treatise are omitted in the Greek version for lack of space. The translator is an enthusiastic and convinced Ithacan, and needless to say, the German works, which he places before his countrymen, are strongly opposed to Dörpfeld's Leucadian theory. They consist in the main of an array of literary authorities ancient and modern favouring the localisation of Odysseus' home in the actual Ithaca, and make no serious original contribution to the question, which in the opinion of both the German authors and the Greek translator ought never to have been raised.

Schools of Hellas: An essay on the practice and theory of Ancient Greek Education from 600 to 300 B.C. By KENNETH FREEMAN. Pp. xix+299: 14 full-page illustrations. London: Macmillan and Co. 4s. net.

A melancholy interest attaches to this book, written by the author with a view to his candidature for a fellowship, and edited after his untimely death by his friend and colleague Mr. M. J. Rendall with a preface by Dr. Verrall. Though under the circumstances necessarily incomplete, it forms a valuable and suggestive introduction to an attractive subject which is for first time presented to English readers under an attractive form. The first part deals with the Practice of Education in Sparta and Athens, where the author sees the types respectively of the boarding school and the day school. Sparta is treated with a sympathy which forms a wholesome corrective to the exaggerated Atticism to which we are all inclined; but the bulk of the book is devoted to the Athenian system, which is assumed on somewhat insufficient evidence to be typical of Greek Education generally. Special chapters are devoted to Primary Education, which lasted from the age of 7 to 14: Secondary

Education occupying the next four years, during which the pupil attended the lectures of wandering sophists, or at a later period schools such as that of Isocrates; Tertiary Education, by which name is described the two years' compulsory training of the Epheboi, from which as it lost its military character was developed the 'University of Athens.' Physical training is treated in a separate chapter, which is perhaps less satisfactory than the rest of the work, because the author contrary to his usual custom has relied too much on antiquated text-books. The Second Part deals with the Theory of Education. Unfortunately the chapters on Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were left in a state not sufficiently finished for publication. There remain three suggestive essays on Religion and Education, Art, Music, and Poetry, and Xenophon, the last a particularly fresh and original essay.

It is impossible here to dwell on the countless points of practical interest raised by this book, which should be read and pondered by all educationalists and schoolmasters. It is provided with an Index English and Greek, and a select Bibliography. The illustrations of vases are effectively printed on terracotta paper. The spelling of Greek names is an original but hardly satisfactory compromise.

Leichenverbrennung und Leichenbestattung im alten Hellas nebst den verschiedenen Formen der Gräber. By JOSEPH ZEHETMAIER. [Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte. Neue Folge xxxv.] Pp. 195. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1907. 5 m.

A useful treatise, which collects all the published evidence as to the state in which the remains of corpses have been found in Greek graves from the Neolithic to the Hellenistic periods. The author shows that, while inhumation (including 'skeletonisation') has been the prevailing practice in all ages of Aegean civilisation, there is also evidence for incineration in every period. He concludes that the latter was a rite practised only by certain richer families: in cases of emergency, as *e.g.* after battle in foreign lands, when transport home of the whole corpse would have been difficult; during epidemics of contagious disease; and in the case of aliens deceased on Greek soil. He considers not only the archaeological evidence, but also the Homeric, having no difficulty in showing that incineration is by no means the only process described in the Iliad and Odyssey. The author's evidence is perhaps more useful and convincing than his conclusions. The ideas which are implied in the two processes of corpse-disposal are so different that one is hardly prepared to accept the contention that one and the same people practised both in one and the same period; and Dr. Zehetmaier's first exception—certain richer families—might have suggested to him that the true key is to be found in difference of racial origin. Some day we may be in a position to distinguish the racial elements in the prehistoric and historic societies of Greece by just these facts as to burial which he has so laboriously collected.

The Rôle of the ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΙ in the Life of the Ancient Greeks, as Depicted in Greek Literature and Inscriptions. By EDWIN MOORE RANKIN, Ph.D. Pp. 92. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1907.

This book, which was originally a thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard, deals mainly with the social status and personal characteristics of the Μάγειρος, while the perhaps more important question of his functions is left in some doubt. The author recognises the difficulty, but avoids it by keeping to the Greek term Μάγειρος, which, as he says, has not the same significance at all times. Thus his instances range from a specialist in cheese-cakes to something more than a sacrificial butcher: and in an investigation of their public and private conditions such widely different persons cannot profitably be discussed together. But with this reserve, the place of the Μάγειρος in Greek life is fully

illustrated from the literary evidence, and especially from comedy. It is insisted that before the time of Alexander he was a professional man of education and repute, and certainly not of servile station. Other points are shortly indicated. More might perhaps be made of the connexion of the Μάγειροι with the Athenian Κήρυκες and of their official control by the Γυναικονόμοι. The many passages which Dr. Rankin has collected must necessarily be used in all further study of the subject; and it is therefore a pity that he has not completed his small treatise by the addition of an index.

*** *For other books received see List of Accessions to the Library.*

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